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THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the last number of the *Reporter* we gave an abstract of the evidence on the Slave-trade, laid before the Parliamentary Committee, so far as it related to the increase and extent of the Slave-trade—the horrors which accompany it—and the inefficiency of the cruising system to suppress it. Since then, four volumes of papers have been laid before Parliament, containing the official Reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Sierra Leone, Havana, Loando, Cape of Good Hope, &c., and from the Consular Agents residing in Brazil. We propose to give a summary of the information these documents convey on the same distressing subject, from which it will be seen that, unless the Government can devise other and better measures than those hitherto employed, it is useless to continue them in the hope that they will ever put an end to the atrocious traffic.

SIERRA LEONE.

In the Slave-trade papers now before Parliament we find two Reports from the Commissioners at Sierra Leone. The first details the proceedings of the Mixed Commission Courts for 1846, the latter those of 1847.

From the former of these reports we learn that ten vessels had been condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court during 1846, for being engaged in the slave-trade. Of these, seven were captured under the Brazilian flag, and three had neither flag nor papers. Two incidents of any importance only are mentioned: the first is the capture of the *Paquete de Rio*, which it is not improbable was fitted out at Sierra Leone for the slave-trade. This vessel arrived at Sierra Leone on the 10th of August, and remained in the harbour until the 5th of October, when she cleared out. After leaving the harbour she was boarded by Her Majesty's sloop *Contest*, which finding no indications of an unlawful voyage, she was allowed to proceed. Within forty-eight hours after this visit, however, she was fully equipped, her slaves and water on board, pursuing her voyage to Rio de Janeiro, when she was fallen in with by the *Cygnat* and the *Ferret*, and captured with 556 slaves on board. The measurement of this slaver was only 74 tons, so that she had actually stowed away $7\frac{1}{2}$ negroes per ton, independently of her crew, and the necessary provisions for the voyage. The second incident related is the escape of the celebrated Theodore Canot with 200 slaves from the river Sherbro', in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. He escaped with his cargo "during a fog."

The following extracts from the Commissioners' Reports for 1846, will give all that is material. They say:—

"We have made an average of the number of prizes condemned in the British and Brazilian Court of Mixed Commission in this colony during the last five years, and it gives rather more than eleven yearly. But we think that a far greater number of vessels were employed last year than formerly by the Brazilian slave-traders. In proof of this there is an increase in the number of captures and condemnations, amounting to about 75 per cent.

"The Act of the 8th and 9th of Victoria at once prepared us for the non-appearance in our Courts of Brazilian prizes, because by this Act all vessels captured under that flag for being engaged in the slave-trade, were to be taken before the Vice-Admiralty Courts of Sierra Leone or St. Helena. But we were led to expect that several Spanish prizes would have been brought into our harbour during the last year; however in this we have been agreeably disappointed. Whether the late distracted state of Cuba, and the fear of increasing the slave population in that island, may have produced the unprecedented calm in their favourite trade, or whether the promulgation of the stringent Penal Act of the Cortes at Madrid, sanctioned by Her Catholic Majesty on the 2nd of March, 1845, may have caused this unexpected event, we know not; but not a single Spanish vessel has been brought into this port during the

past year, nor have we heard that any Spanish slaver has been seen on the coast during that period. This cessation from the slave-trade on the part of Spain forms a new and interesting era in the suppression of that inhuman traffic. We can only hope that it may prove sincere and final.

"While it is our pleasing duty to report to your lordship that no case for adjudication has been brought before the Courts of Mixed Commission during the past year, we beg respectfully to express to your lordship our firm opinion and belief that to the constant zeal and unwearied labours of our gallant squadron, in no small degree, are we indebted for the present almost cessation of the slave-trade by every nation except Brazil. The effective arrangement and sailing qualities of Her Majesty's cruisers stationed on the coast for the suppression of the slave-trade, render it a matter of great difficulty for a slaver to escape from the coast with slaves on board."—*Slave-trade Papers*, 1848, *Class A*, pp. 2—4.

How far the opinion of the Commissioners on the efficiency of the cruisers is borne out by the facts, will be seen before we close our extracts. In the meantime we give the following extract from a despatch of Sir Charles Hotham, now commanding the squadron on the western coast of Africa, dated *Penelope*, Kabenda, March 14th, 1848:—

"The vessels equipped for the slave-trade in the Port of Bahia are of the finest and most beautiful construction; stability, strength, and durability, are all sacrificed to obtain speed. Our ships, on the contrary, are burdened with guns, provisions, and stores, and we are obliged to consider speed as one only of the many requisites of a man-of-war. There is not a sloop on the African station that can compete in sailing with a well-found slaver; and if their lordships will turn to my report of captures, they will find that twenty-three out of fifty-nine were either taken by steamers single-handed, or that their presence prevented escape from our cruisers. At certain periods of the year, when the fresh breezes set into the Bight of Benin, a well-equipped slave vessel will escape even from a steamer; this has already happened to the *Grappler*, and may any day occur to the *Blazer*. The dealers in Rio have placed a second powerful steamer in the trade; there may be others of whom we know nothing; but on a fair calculation, these two vessels will annually carry off at least 10,000 slaves from the coast of Africa, without, I fear, experiencing much chance of capture."—*Report on Slave-trade*, 1848, p. 169."

Sir Charles Hotham, in a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, dated April 7, 1847, observes:—

"I heartily wish it were in my power to make a favourable report of the suppression of the slave-trade in these districts, but difficulties are here accumulated greater than our cruisers have been able to overcome. The greater part of the slaves are sent to Bahia and Pernambuco; the vessels employed are of the best construction, and in many cases outsail our men-of-war. The *Dos Amigos* has beaten two of our finest brigs in a fair chase; she is well handled, and carries over 800 slaves each trip."—*Class A*, 1848, p. 298.

The Report of the Sierra Leone Commissioners for 1847 is as follows:—

"No slaves were emancipated by the Mixed Courts during the year.

"The total number of cases prosecuted before the Mixed Commissions, since their establishment here in June, 1819, up to the present date, is 529, whereof 502 were cases of condemnation, and 27 were either withdrawn, dismissed, or restored to the claimant.

"In the same period there have been emancipated by these Mixed Courts 64,625 slaves, of whom 56,935 have been registered here.

"Although, owing to the circumstance of our having no longer jurisdiction over Brazilian vessels, and the now general destruction of evidences of nationality by Spanish slavers, the operations of the Mixed Courts here have been necessarily very limited, the number of slave cases altogether proceeded against at Sierra Leone during 1847 has been considerable.

"In the Vice-Admiralty Court of the Colony there have been adjudicated within the year, under the Acts 2nd and 3rd Victoria, cap. 73, and 8th and 9th Victoria, cap. 122, seventeen acknowledged Brazilian vessels,

and ten others without colours or papers. Of this number 26 were condemned, and one, a Brazilian vessel, was restored to the claimant. These 27 captures were made in the following localities:—In the latitude or neighbourhood of Gallinas, Sherbro, or Cape Mount 5, in the Bight of Benin 9, off the coast of Loango 9, and off the coast of Angola 4. In 13 of the cases there were slaves, the remainder were proceeded against for equipment only. The number of slaves so captured was 3,967, of whom 3,671 were decreed emancipation.

"Of the 17 Brazilian vessels prosecuted under the Act 8th and 9th Victoria, cap. 122, 10 got their imperial passports at Rio de Janeiro, and 7 at Bahia; 10 cleared for Brazilian coasting voyages, 3 for the Azores, Canaries, or Cape Verd Islands, and 4 only for the coast of Africa. From this it would seem that, although the Brazilian slave-trade is prosecuted almost openly, and to an extent hitherto unparalleled, some sort of surveillance is still apparently exercised at Rio de Janeiro, at least over national vessels clearing direct for this coast. Respecting the ten vessels unfurnished with flag or papers, we have of course very little information, but are inclined to think that the majority were engaged in the Brazilian slave-trade, though some so employed were probably Spanish property; the destruction of the flag and papers being resorted to for the purpose of avoiding exposure and the risk of punishment, which they would incur if proceeded against before the Mixed Courts. It is understood also that some few of them were both Spanish property and engaged in the Spanish slave-trade; the present high price of slaves at Havana holding out indeed an inducement not likely to be resisted by men, restricted by nothing but a dread of severe punishment, which under existing circumstances they well know may be evaded by the course to which we have alluded.

"From what we have stated it will be seen that nearly half the number of captures proceeded against at Sierra Leone have been slave-laden; a very unusual proportion, and which would, we think, forcibly indicate increased exertions on the part of the slave-dealers.

"So far as regards the slave-vessels adjudicated here, the number detained north of the Line rather exceeds those taken to the southward. It is, however, an unquestionable fact that, during 1847, the principal slave-trade has been carried on to the southward of the Line; though we regret to find that of late the traffic in the Bight of Benin has greatly increased; that part of the coast is indeed now described as 'swarming with slavers.' Between the Bight of Benin and this settlement there has not been comparatively much slave-trade during the year, so far as our means of intelligence extends, and to the northward of Sierra Leone still less.

"In the River Pongas, as we have learnt with satisfaction, several of the slave-traders are turning their attention to the cultivation of ground-nuts, which the demand is increasing, and far exceeds the supply.

"The neighbourhood of Bissao and the Bissagos unfortunately, however, retain an infamous celebrity, and depôts for slaves collected at those places still exist in some of the Cape Verd Islands. The Spanish schooner *Atrevida*, condemned in the Mixed Court, was, there can be no doubt, engaged in thus conveying slaves to these islands. A small Portuguese schooner was taken at the same time, by the same cruiser (Her Majesty's sloop *Philomel*), but the prize-officer eventually gave up this vessel, as we have been told, to the Governor of Bissao. Information of both these schooners, as 'suspected slavers,' was received by Her Majesty's sloop *Philomel* from the French vessel-of-war cruising in concert—thus carrying out the object of the treaty between Great Britain and France; and though we have not the means of forming any very decided opinion on the subject, we are inclined to think that, in this immediate neighbourhood at least, the joint operations of French cruisers has been beneficial.

"In closing our Report for this year, we regret to have to state to your lordship that, from the information which has reached us, we are led to the conviction that the slave-trade on this coast has never been more vigorously carried on than at present, or more successfully, notwithstanding the great zeal and activity of Her Majesty's squadron, demonstrated by the number of vessels captured and of slaves liberated. At the same time our very imperfect intelligence respecting the operations of a considerable portion of Her Majesty's squadron, as also of the proceedings of the Mixed British and Portuguese Courts established on the coast, and the Vice-Admiralty-Courts at St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope, preclude our taking so extensive or particular a view of the subject as we could wish to have done."—*Ibid.* pp. 13—15.

HAVANA.

It is a remarkable fact that the Reports of the Commissioners do not always express the same sentiments. In some of their communications to the Foreign Office they clearly intimate that, when it suits the interests of the slave-traders, no regard for treaties, no fear of punishment, will induce them to desist from their nefarious efforts. At other times, they are induced to attribute any lull in the slave-trade to the vigorous exertions and successful enterprises of the cruisers. It is manifest, however, that the Reports take

their tone from what is believed to be the opinions entertained at the Foreign Office. In their Report for 1846, the Havana Commissioners say, "We have not to record the departure of any single vessel hence, during the year, suspected of being intended for the slave-trade. This is a fact, gratifying as it is extraordinary; and we must acknowledge, that the success it proves to have attended the efforts of Her Majesty's Government to suppress the traffic is such as we had not anticipated." Now, whether any vessels sailed from Cuba or not, during the year 1846, on slave-trading expeditions, it is clear that 1,700 slaves were known to have been imported in that year, and 1,500 in 1847; but the explanation of the lull in the slave-trade is explained by these very Commissioners themselves. At the close of the Report for 1846, they say:—

"We ought not to omit submitting to your lordship also, that if there has not been a greater outcry for labourers, the reason has been, that the supply has been constantly hitherto met by the transference of the negroes to the sugar plantations from the coffee estates, which are in the course of almost entire abandonment. The coffee trees have suffered by the hurricanes more than the canes, and, as being a less remunerating culture, the effects have been more felt. Consequently, the estates still kept on after the hurricane of 1844, are now about being abandoned, and the negroes transferred to the cultivation of sugar."

We give the following extract from their Report for 1846, as important:—

"As it thus appears that the trade during the year may be said to have ceased, the next consideration arises as to the chances of its future revival and prospects. In this we feel compelled to express our belief that no reliance can be placed on the present policy of this Government, as we fear that it is not adopted from real principle. The present Captain-General is constantly avowing his disagreement with the orders he has received, and which he declares he obeys against his own conviction of what is necessary for the interests of the country; and the sentiments expressed by Senor Isturiz, and other principal speakers in Congress, show that they had no indisposition to the continuance of the trade. Consequently, we may fully expect that it will be allowed to revive, immediately that any relaxation is felt in the measures of Her Majesty's Government, or in the activity of their cruisers. The extent of the revival also will depend on the demand, and the demand will depend on the quantity of labour required, and the means to meet it now existing.

"In our former annual reports we have always submitted our views on this subject as connected with the productions of the island; showing how, that though in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, the exports of sugar, though much higher than in former years, only averaged about 500,000 boxes, or 100,000 tons per annum; they have since been constantly increasing, until, in 1844, they reached the enormous amount of 847,000 boxes from this port and Matanzas; and although the hurricane of 1844 affected the cane so much as to reduce the exports in the year following, 1845, to less than 366,000 boxes, the crops of that year seem to have benefited, rather than otherwise, by the effects of the hurricane, so as to spring more strongly. This has been shown by the exports of the last year, 1846, having reached from this port and Matanzas the large quantity of 810,463 boxes. During the last autumn, though this city was visited with a hurricane, still more terrible than that of 1844, it was not so widely extended over the island, nor so devastating in its character and influence on the crops. The exports of this season are therefore confidently spoken of as likely to reach even a million of boxes, or double those of 1837. So extraordinary an impetus to the production of sugar must be attended with a considerable demand for labour, considering also that this article has improved fully 15 per cent. in value during the last year.

"The planters, as we have before stated, have made no preparations to meet the increased demand for labour. The importations of slaves have always been at the rate of three males to one female, and how little the coloured race can have increased in slavery may be judged from the fact to which we called the attention of Her Majesty's Government in our despatch of the 31st October, 1845, that 537 women of the class of emancipados, who had received their freedom, and who were all between the ages of fifteen and fifty, were found to have only 444 children. In the list of emancipados sent during the year to Jamaica, your lordship will also find that fifty-two women had only twenty-three children. It is said here that the coloured race will not increase in this climate; but the free negroes do increase, and so also does the slave population of the United States. If, therefore, there be not wilful infanticide, it is evident that the labours exacted of the women, or other circumstances, exist against their rearing of their children."—*Ibid.* pp. 65—67.

In their Report for 1847, the Havana Commissioners enter into an elaborate statement to show how greatly the African slave-trade has decreased during the last few years. In concluding their remarks, they say:—

"From these circumstances I am sure that Her Majesty's Government will feel much satisfaction in finding their efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade in this island so far successful. The first serious blow to it was the appointment of General Valdes to the government of this island by the Regent Espartero, under your Lordship's serious representations. The faithful manner in which General Valdes acted with regard to it, coupled with the stricter measures adopted on the coast by the British cruisers, induced a great number of the slave-dealers to retire altogether from its pursuit, and I am persuaded that their capital now is so much engaged in other ways, that it would take some time for them to organize the arrangements of it again, even if another Captain-General were to come prepared to connive at it as formerly, as some persons here are already expecting. For the later cargoes that he has admitted, General O'Donnell is reported to have exacted payments exceeding £10 per head, which, if it has been in fact an infraction of the treaty, has also been a discouragement of the trade, by almost depriving it of its profits, and rendering it uncertain in its future operations. Thus, then, we find it cramped in its prosecution at a time when, if the former policy of this Government had been continued, it would have been more flourishing than ever."

Yet again do these Commissioners show that the non-introduction of slaves from Africa into Cuba is owing principally to the internal supply, for they add:—

"During the last year the prices of sugar have been so high that the cultivation of the cane in new lands has been carried on to a very great extent, and the price of slave-labour has about doubled in value. Thus a great demand has arisen for the purchase of slaves, which has been hitherto met, though inadequately to the demand, from the gangs of the coffee estates, lately abandoned after the two hurricanes, and the other losses experienced by the coffee planters. From this source it is estimated that no fewer than 30,000 slaves have been transferred to the cultivation of sugar from coffee during the last three years; and this would account for the hitherto little sensation occasioned by the cessation of the slave-trade. But now that it may be calculated there will be no more to be obtained by this means, I should have had great fears of some desperate attempts being made to revive the trade, only that we have the satisfaction of finding the price of sugar again falling to its former rate, with a prospect of its going still lower on the increased production; so that it may be hoped some of the lands now laid down in cane may be given up, and the slaves employed thereon be taken as sufficient for the remainder."

In reference to the increased extent of sugar cultivation in Cuba, the Commissioners report as follows:—

"During the last year, 1847, the exports of sugar from this place and Matanzas amounted to the enormous total of 1,006,767 boxes, having been in the year preceding 810,463 boxes, of which about five are equal to a ton. Ten years since, in 1837, the exports only amounted to 536,952 boxes, and in 1836 to 500,153 boxes, so that the production has doubled in amount, and will be proved, probably, to be increased 200,000 by the exports of this year, showing how much greater quantity of labour will be required in consequence."—*Ibid.* pp. 105-107.

BRAZIL.

Mr. Consul Hesketh gives the following analysis of the traffic in slaves between Rio Janeiro and Africa, during the year 1846, viz.:—twenty-seven vessels under the Brazilian flag, fifteen under the American, four under the Portuguese, two under the Sardinian, three under the French, and one under the Hamburguese flag; in all, fifty-two vessels connected with the transport of slaves from Africa.—He adds:—

"A return of similar departures, during 1845, contained the names of fifty-five vessels; but, as often before remarked, such returns are no criterion of the extent of the illegal traffic with Africa; for this Custom-house, like all other Brazilian departments, continues to connive at all slave-trading transactions; and there is no exaggeration in the assertion, that in this harbour vessels are most completely fitted out for the slave-trade without any impediment."

"Notwithstanding these facilities many slavers are still fitted out at Campos, Macahé, and the harbours about Cape Frio and Ilha Grande; and the establishments, now organized in all these excellent anchorages, are not only sufficient to ensure the landing of slaves, but also to defy every Custom-house regulation."

As this Consul's Report contains many striking particulars we give it, simply excluding those which are of trifling importance.

"So long as vessels hoisting the European and United States' flags are permitted to take freights between the Brazilian and African coasts, the slave merchants are freed from many embarrassments in the transport of slave equipments; and vessels once implicated to that degree in the slave-trade, are generally found to fall, ultimately, under the complete control of slave-traffickers, and to become the means of transporting the slaves themselves from Africa."

"In the year 1845, out of fifty-five departures from Rio de Janeiro to Africa, fourteen were American vessels; and during 1846, out of fifty-two departures, fifteen sailed under that flag."

"American vessels, adapted for the slave-trade, are continually brought to this port, and sold to the slave-dealers: the last of this description was a fine sharp-built brig, called the *Rifleman*, sold for about £3,200. I am informed she was purchased by one of the many slave-trading associations in this place; that she was re-named the *Brazil*, and was fitted and sailed for Africa, though, like many more, cleared out under a false destination."

"Slave-dealers often purchase foreign vessels sold in this harbour as unworthy the expense of repair; but all their efficient and substantial craft are obtained from the United States."

"About the close of 1846, a crew-steamer, brigantine-rigged, called the *Cariola*, arrived from the United States; she was bought by a notorious slave-dealer, Thomas da Costa Ramos, of this place. She is now called the *Thereza*, about 180 tons burthen. This vessel sailed hence, about the 22nd of last October, for Africa, and, before the end of the year, arrived at Cape Frio from some port near Angola, with 600 slaves. She has not since appeared in this harbour, and, in all probability, has, from Cape Frio, returned to the coast of Africa for another cargo. The *Thereza* is fitted with an apparatus for distilling sea-water, thus facilitating the transport of a greater number of negroes with a small quantity of water-casks. I am further informed that there were only fifteen deaths out of the 600 slaves."

"Two large steamers were launched during the year at this port, and both are, probably, intended for the slave-trade; as yet they have not their engines on board. They will be the subject of a separate communication to your lordship as soon as they are equipped, and more particulars of their intended employment ascertained."

"I have been informed by respectable persons residing in Santos, that about twelve vessels were dispatched from thence to Africa direct; during 1846."

"The following is the report on the slave-trade in that quarter, from the Vice-Consul, Mr. Whitaker:—'I regret to say that the importation of slaves continues to a very considerable extent; scarcely a steamer comes in from Rio de Janeiro that does not bring 100 or more. The local authorities are dormant on the subject; and, since the efforts of our cruisers have been discontinued, the trade is becoming generalized, without the least hindrance or impediment on their part.'

"Notwithstanding the numerous slave adventures commenced in Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity during the year lately expired, in no instance has any Brazilian authority restrained or even noticed such an illegal employment of shipping."

"In reference to the inclosed list of arrivals from Africa, during the year 1846, it is proper to observe that most of the vessels reported in ballast landed securely at some of the neighbouring out-ports their slave cargoes."

"Deceptive as this return is, as to the extent and real nature of the carrying trade from Africa to Rio de Janeiro, it even so comprises,—10 vessels under the Brazilian flag, 11 under the American, 3 under the French, 2 under the Sardinian, 2 under the Hamburguese, and 4 under the Portuguese flag,—in all, 32 vessels."

"It is unfortunately out of my power to obtain all those particulars of the landing of slaves at the out-ports which have hitherto accompanied these annual reports, because the person who was engaged in procuring that information has some time since found a much more lucrative employment in commanding a Brazilian steamer, which is chiefly occupied in carrying coastwise newly-imported slaves."

"I beg leave, my lord, to report the following, as the result of my constant and careful inquiries respecting the landing of slaves in this harbour, as well as at Espiritu Santo, Campos, Macahé, and the anchorages about Cape Frio and Ilha Grande, during the year 1846:—

During the three quarters ending September 30, the total number of slaves landed at the above ports, were about	20,000
And during the last quarter	15,000
	35,000
At Santos, from Africa direct, about	6,000
At Rio Grande, also from Africa direct, about	1,500
In all, about	42,500

"It is said that most of these slaves were shipped on the western coast of Africa, and that one of the means adopted to elude the vigilance of cruisers was to erect barracoons at various points, and thus distract the cruisers' attention from the spot where the slaves were really shipped."

"An intelligent free negro, from whom I occasionally obtain information of the proceedings of slave-dealers at the out-ports, wrote to me last May, that 500 slaves belonging to José Bernardino da Sà were then landed in the neighbourhood of Macahé, from a brig which had arrived direct from Ambriz. And in June and July the same person also informed me that from three vessels full cargoes of slaves had been landed at Espiritu Santo, belonging to the other notorious slave-dealer, Manoel

Pinto da Fonseca, the three vessels having obtained their cargoes at Sang Tang, on the Gold Coast ('Costa da Mina').

"I have been informed that 1200 slaves were landed between Bahia and Rio de Janeiro from the American barque *Pilot*, which sailed from hence at the commencement of 1846.

"Besides vessels under the American flag, there is unfortunately good ground for the belief that some under the flag of France, and of other European States, have brought over slaves.

"The influx of African slaves was so great during the latter part of 1846, that it occasioned a glut in the market; but even so, the cash-price for what is termed 'a prime slave' was never lower than Rs. 540\$000, or about £64; the best bargains being of course made in disposing of such as were neither young nor healthy.

"Every succeeding year more plainly shows that at Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity the head-quarters of Brazilian slave-trade are established. It is to the capital of Brazil that all the surplus supplies of Bahia and Pernambuco, or, in other words, that all the slaves not readily sold there are forthwith dispatched; because, independent of the existing facilities for landing and holding slaves on sale at Rio de Janeiro, a large floating capital is ever ready for investment in such a traffic; and therefore the slave-importers find themselves here at once relieved from the ruinous expense of remaining with cargoes of human beings unsold. From this course, and the increased arrival of slaves direct from Africa, all the slave deposits were full at the close of 1846, both in this city and in all the convenient harbours on the neighbouring line of coast.

"This state of things gave great impulse to another class of slave-dealers, who are now in full activity, realising great profits by taking into the interior of this, and to the adjoining inland provinces, newly-imported slaves from the different deposits. These slaves are marched into the country in parties of from 20 to 60, and sometimes more, led and escorted by a few white men and black creole attendants, all armed. These parties, in proceeding through the country in various directions, meet purchasers amongst the small planters and others. Some of these slave-hawkers have already realised a considerable capital, to judge from the number of well-appointed cargo mules, with the competent creole slaves they already possess, to collect and transport to this sea-port the produce in which the payments are made for the slaves they sell in the interior. These travelling parties of newly-imported Africans may be met any day in every road leading to the interior.

"Numbers of the small craft in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, as well as the coasters and steamers, are likewise continually seen employed in transporting new slaves for sale in every direction.

"In short, Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity is now one large slave-market, and several deposits of slaves exist in the heart of the city itself, undoubtedly infecting the population with various African maladies.

"I have not the means of ascertaining the names of such vessels as were captured after leaving the harbour during 1846, but the greatest part of the seizures were empty vessels. These lawless traffickers do not, however, feel the loss of the ships; it is the seizure of their slaves which disheartens them, and the more so the nearer the vessel has completed her voyage; and so long as the crews of slave-vessels are not themselves individually exposed to punishment when captured, they will ever be found ready adventurers in the service of those who misapply their capital in such nefarious transactions.

"I find it impossible to give the particulars regarding the population, required by the instructions for this Report, no census having been as yet published. I estimate that out of the 35,500 slaves landed direct from Africa as above stated, 25,000 have remained in this province, and that of about 8,538 emigrants brought from Europe and the Western Islands during last year, 6,500 have been located in this capital and province, making an increase of more than 31,000 to the working class. But, without positive data, it is useless to attempt any serviceable report on this point. It must be moreover observed, that many slaves are brought from the northern provinces for sale, and again re-exported home, or sent inland.

"There is no alteration in the general treatment of agricultural slaves; nor am I aware of any occurrence in reference to them, or to those employed in towns, calling for notice in this Report.

"It might be expected that the late increase in the importation of slaves would benefit the agricultural classes by reducing the cost of slave-labour; but as there cannot be any reduction in the bribes paid to the authorities, the slave-hawkers have now appeared—also tempted by the profits they make in assisting their maritime accomplices, to obtain in the forests of Brazil, from the short-sighted and apathetic natives, the highest possible price for an African slave, brought thus to their very doors by every species of lawless proceeding."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class B.*, 1848, pp. 251-255.

The acting Consul, Mr. Westwood, made the Report for 1847. From that document we gather the following particulars. The departure of slaves from Rio de Janeiro is classified as follows:—

"Under the Brazilian flag, eleven; Portuguese, six; America, fifteen; French, five; Hamburguese, three; in all, forty. Arrivals

under Brazilian flag, four; Portuguese, four; American, fifteen; French, four; Swedish, one; and Hamburguese, three; in all, twenty-seven. The acting Consul adds:

"These returns, however, furnish no criterion of the extent of the slave-trade between this district and Africa, as a great number of vessels that sail for that coast leave this harbour under clearances for different Brazilian ports, and others depart from the various small out-ports in this neighbourhood; while many of the vessels that land slaves along the coast report themselves, on arrival here, as coasters; and such is the protection and assistance granted by all the Brazilian authorities to slave-trading transactions, that it is impossible, in a place so much frequented by shipping from all parts of the world, to be aware of all the proceedings connected with this nefarious traffic.

"Since the British vessels of war have ceased cruising on this coast, all the energies of the slave-dealers have been directed to frustrate the plans of Her Majesty's cruisers on the African coast; in which, to judge from the number of vessels that have landed full cargoes of slaves in this neighbourhood, they have been very successful.

"This success may be mainly attributed to the great assistance and protection that slave-dealers have derived from the use of the American flag, which has so aided them in organizing their plans on the coast of Africa as to facilitate, in a great measure, the embarkation of slaves, and the departure of the vessels. And it is much to be feared that so long as the flag of the United States continues so entirely subservient to all slave-trading purposes as it is at present, the suppression of this nefarious traffic, by British cruising, will be greatly retarded."—*Par. Pap. No. 536*, 1848, p. 205.

In relation to the extent of the slave-trade, Mr. Westwood observes:—

"From the Reports already furnished, your lordship must be aware of the impossibility of arriving at any correct estimate of the number of slaves landed, and though I am convinced that the importation of Africans within this district, during 1847, was much above the average of past years, I have only been able to make the following account:—

At Macahé, Campos, and Cape Frio	21,000
At Rio harbour, and islands and bays, up to Cape Frio	19,000
At Ilha Grande and different localities to the southward of	
Rio.....	6,000
Total.....	46,000

"The landing of slaves along the coast is now carried on in the most undisguised manner.

"From all the landing places or depôts slaves are conveyed coast-wise, and even brought into this port, by the coasting steamers; and this employment is found to be so lucrative, that two or three of these coasters are nearly exclusively engaged in this manner; and although this practice is notorious, the Brazilian authorities take no steps to prevent it.

"The present value of newly-imported negroes is much under the average rate, the cash price for a healthy slave being from Rs. 450\$000 to Rs. 500\$000, or £50 to £56. This decline in the price may be attributed to the immense number that have lately been landed, and to the scarcity which has prevailed in the money market."—*Ibid. p. 206*.

The port next to Rio de Janeiro, in which the slave-trade is carried on with the greatest activity, is Bahia. Mr. Consul Porter states that the number of slaves imported into that place, in 1846, was 7,354, and in 1847, 10,064.—*Ibid. p. 213*.

Mr. Porter says:—

"This traffic is now carried on without the least attempt at concealment. At the island of Itaparica, right opposite this city, distant about eight miles, regular places for landing slaves are established, where signal lights are kept burning during the night, as a guide for vessels engaged in this trade. Thence they are brought over to well-known depôts, established in this city, where they are sold without fear of interruption from the authorities."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class B.*, 1848, p. 282.

In reference to the internal slave-trade, Mr. Consul Cowper, of Pernambuco, observes:—

"The coasting slave-trade continues uninterruptedly, with no other ameliorating feature to distinguish it from the African, than the improved accommodation afforded to these unhappy beings, during their transport from one province to another; but their natural rights, their sentiments of love of country, parents, children, or friends, are not less inhumanly ruptured than in the latter trade."—*Ibid. p. 300*.

Lord Howden, late British Minister in Brazil, under date Rio de Janeiro, 9th February, 1848, makes the following statement in relation to the slave-trade during the year 1847:—

"I have the honour to inform your lordship that, according to the best estimation I have been able to make, above 60,000 Africans hav

been imported as slaves into Brazil during the year 1847. There is no doubt that this frightful number has been greatly occasioned by the concentration of the English naval force in the waters of the Plate; at the same time I learn that never have the slave-dealers so perfected all the appurtenances and appliances of their vile trade as at present; never have they so organized the whole range of shore signals, from St. Katharine's to Bahia, nor established such facilities for landing their cargoes as now; and I am afraid I may add, with perfect truth, that never was the toleration, not to say co-operation, of this Government more open than at the present moment. It is a well-known fact here that a vessel belonging to this port made five voyages to the coast during the last year, and landed in safety all her cargoes. At a moderate computation this single ship must have brought from 2,000 to 3,000 slaves. — *Par. Pap.* 272, 1848, pp. 271-2.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The Commissioners at this station report as follows:—

"We have not received any information upon which to form an estimate of the number of negroes actually exported from the East Coast during 1846; still we regret to say that we have no reason to suppose that it has been less than in former years; for although the exportation may have been checked at Ibo and Quillimane, as reported in our despatch of the 17th September, 1846, still the places at which the embarkation can be effected are so numerous along the shore of the Mozambique Channel, that even if all the cruisers belonging to this station were employed there, the number would not be sufficient; and during the past year, in consequence of the unhappy outbreak on the frontier, the services of Her Majesty's ships have been much required by the colony; while the only steam-vessel on the station, the *Thunderbolt*, was, for months previous to her unfortunate loss, employed entirely on matters connected with the Kaffir war."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class A.*, 1848, p. 123.

In a subsequent despatch they say:—

"We learn, by this opportunity, that the slave-trade continues in more than its former vigour, and that the exportations have been very numerous, especially from Angozha. These, no doubt, might have been checked, had the Portuguese Government authorized the Governor-General of the Mozambique to renew to Her Majesty's cruisers the power granted to them by General de Lima, but subsequently withdrawn by orders from Lisbon, in virtue of which they could search suspected vessels within the limits in which the right of search is not conceded by the treaty; for this withdrawal has much cramped the endeavours of Her Majesty's ships to prevent the continuance of the trade on the East Coast. We are told, indeed, that the master of the *Progresso* openly boasted that in the course of two years, during which he had employed that vessel in the slave-trade between Rio de Janeiro and the Mozambique, he had frequently, when chased, escaped capture by Her Majesty's cruisers, by merely keeping his vessel within the limits in which he could not be searched."—*Ibid.* pp. 123, 131.

LOANDA.

The Commissioners at Loanda give the following particulars relating to the slave-trade in their Report for 1846:—

"The French squadron, stationed, according to treaty, from Cape Verd to Cape Negro, is distributed under the following five divisions:—

"1st. From Cape Verd to the Isles de Los.

"2nd. From Isles de Los to Cape Palmas.

"3rd. Cape Palmas to Cape Lopez, with special reference to the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

"4th. Cape Lopez to St. Paul de Loanda.

"5th. Loanda to Cape Negro.

"In this squadron there is to be a constant force of at least seven steamers, including the flag-ship, which, together with the sailing-vessels, are to be employed as follows:—

"On the 1st and 2nd divisions from two to four sailing-vessels and one steamer; on the 3rd, from three to five sailing-vessels and one steamer; on the 4th, from three to five sailing-vessels and one steamer; on the 5th, two sailing vessels only. Of the remaining four steamers one is for the special use of the Admiral, and the three others for occasional services on the coast, and for keeping up a communication between the principal points of the station and the depôts which have been formed at Goree and Gaboon, which are to be considered as head-quarters, and at each of them a store-ship will be stationed.

"The American squadron is composed of the *United States*, frigate; *Marion*, sloop; *Dolphin*, brig; *Boxer*, brig; and *Southampton*, store-ship, and cruises along the whole line of coast from Liberia to Loanda.

"The Portuguese squadron, consisting of seven vessels, for the most part of small dimensions, has chiefly been employed to the southward, where the disturbances and inroads of the natives about Benguela seem to have given it full occupation.

"The number of vessels engaged, or supposed to be engaged, in slave-traffic, which have been captured or destroyed by these respective squadrons, as far as our information extends, amounts to sixty-one, and is as follows:—

" Captured by the British	37
" French	11
" Portuguese	5
" American	2
" Destroyed by the British	3
" French	1
" Portuguese	2
	61

"Of these sixty-one captures, five had slaves on board to the number of 2,104, and the remainder were taken without slaves, but said to be fully equipped for the traffic.

"The British prizes being for the most part without colours or papers, but there is little or no doubt all Brazilian, were sent for adjudication to St. Helena; the French to Goree; the Portuguese to this city, when they were immediately submitted to the Prize Court established by the decree of the 14th September, 1844; and the two Americans to the United States, where, we hear, they were restored with damages.

"Frequent reports are spread of vessels having effected their escape after embarking their slaves; but the only instance, besides the recent one of the launch, to which we can speak positively, are the four reported by Her Majesty's Acting Commissioners, in their despatches of the 10th of March, of the 28th of April, and of the 25th of July, 1846. Three out of the four escaped after taking their slaves on board; the other, being chased by the Portuguese corvette *Relampago*, was at the time prevented from embarking her cargo, but got off with impunity, and has not since been heard of. It has lately been again said that a steamer with a full cargo had escaped from the neighbourhood of Cabenda.

"We have not the means, my lord, at this moment, of ascertaining the truth of this statement; we are however inclined to give it greater credit than we otherwise should be (knowing, as we do, that reports of this nature are not unfrequently propagated by the interested in the traffic, for their own purposes), from the information which has reached us, on undoubted authority, of the intention of the Brazilian speculators to employ several steamers, conjointly with old and comparatively valueless vessels, to be used as decoys by engaging the attention of the cruisers, and drawing them off in pursuit, with the hope of affording opportunity to the steamers to run in during the chase, and ship the cargoes. One such attempt, proving successful, would more than compensate the loss of a dozen worn-out vessels, even should they all be sacrificed, and none of them be able to ship slaves themselves. Another inducement to employ steamers is the means of resistance they are supposed to afford against any attack by boats, and the determination which, we are assured, has been come to, of attempting to run down all boats which may venture to attack them.

"Besides the *Leao*, whose sailing hence, and subsequent capture by Her Majesty's sloop *Waterwitch*, we have already noticed, nineteen vessels have left this port for the Brazils in ballast, of which five were Portuguese, seven Brazilian, two Hamburghese, four American, and one Sardinian; all of them having previously landed valuable cargoes from thence.

"What effect such heavy losses as the slave-dealers have suffered for two successive years may eventually produce, time only can determine; but we have every reason to believe that they are relaxing nothing of their efforts to attain their object (of which the above intelligence may be evidenced as strongly corroborative), and that the barracoons all along the coast are to this day as fully supplied with slaves as ever, waiting only a favourable opportunity for embarkation, which, in defiance of the vigilance of the cruisers, is we fear too often accomplished.

"That the speculation has become a much more hazardous one; that many engaged in it have been almost ruined; and that none but such as have a large capital at command (by subscription or otherwise) can venture to carry it on, is, however, certain; the low price at which an able-bodied negro may now be purchased in this province—about one-half what would have been given for him two or three years ago—while, on the one hand, it would seem calculated to encourage the traffic, attests, on the other, the very great difficulties and risks attending it, and which are such as to make it neither expedient, nor indeed possible for any but capitalists to incur, notwithstanding the immense profits which a cargo reaching the Brazils in safety is sure to command.

"The greatest impediment, perhaps, in the way of slave-dealers on this part of the coast, and that of which they most loudly complain, is the stop which has been put, during the administration of the present Governor-General of this province, to the transit of slaves from Loanda to the adjoining districts. So long as an unrestricted egress was allowed, the facilities which a large town like this, covering, as it does, a great tract of ground, not in regular streets but interspersed throughout with native huts, afforded for keeping an almost indefinite number of slaves, and passing them to and fro at the convenience of their masters without interference, may easily be imagined. Now, no chained slave is per-

mitted to leave the city without a pass from the Government, nor any number above four, even though not chained, without a similar pass, for which from one to two dollars each is demanded. The tax for every negro entering the city from the interior is so heavy (nine dollars) that few, if any, are now brought in. The slave-dealers are thus compelled to confine themselves almost wholly to the system of establishing barracoons in the several districts as near as possible to those spots which offer the readiest means of embarkation; and in this view, perhaps, the plan which we understand has been much adopted by the French squadron may be found to prove more effectual than it would at first sight appear likely to be—viz., that of watching closely some one given point, and remaining nearly stationary before it, instead of following a more general and extended line of cruising.

"Were this means adopted, the attempts by steam, before spoken of, would be in a great measure frustrated, and the dealers, certain of not being able to ship their slaves from that particular spot, would have no resource but to remove them elsewhere, which would be attended with considerable expense and risk, as well from the payments which would be exacted from them by the chiefs, through whose lands they might have to pass, as from the necessary cost of a new establishment, and from the danger they would run of losing many of their slaves by flight on the road. These, however, my lord, it is evident, are but so many obstacles in the way of this nefarious traffic, which may greatly impede, but can never effectually eradicate it.

"To legitimate commerce and native industry alone we must turn for the extinction of a trade in which all, from the highest to the lowest, in this colony, have been more or less interested, and where the efforts to suppress it are even now looked upon as an unwarrantable interference with personal rights and interests, and so far from meeting with any sympathy, are submitted to only as matter of necessity. That the genuine feeling of every individual of this community, with the very inconsiderable exception of those few who are merely temporary official residents here, is such as we have described, we verily believe (indeed we have reason to know that his Excellency the Governor-General has written in very strong terms to this effect to his Government); and in this feeling undoubtedly it is that we must seek for an explanation of the extraordinary proceedings which we have had the honour of reporting to your lordship, in the affair of the launch which escaped recently with a cargo of slaves from the bar of Corimba."—*Ibid.* pp. 153–156.

In a subsequent despatch, dated the 8th February, 1848, the Commissioners make the following statements relative to the slave-trade, from which it will be seen there is no abatement in its activity south of the line:—

"In the course of last month accounts reached us, through a source from which it was difficult to withhold credit, of the shipment of a large number of slaves from the coast to the north of Ambriz; still, as they rested only in report, we would not be too hasty in communicating them to your lordship. We regret to be obliged now to state that these accounts have been confirmed, and that there is every reason to believe that a barque did escape from that part of the coast towards the end of last year, with a very considerable cargo of slaves. The particulars we are unable, even now, to give; but our first information stated the number at no less than 1,400.

"A still more startling circumstance has occurred at Ambriz itself, where, on the night of the 20th ultimo, a large armed steam-ship embarked 1,084 slaves, and sailed a few hours before daylight. On the morning of the 21st she was subsequently met with, well out at sea, by an American trader on her passage from St. Helena to Ambriz; where, on the arrival of the latter, the fact was celebrated with fireworks and every kind of rejoicing.

"The steamer, commanded by a Genoese, and manned principally by Spaniards, is called the *Providencia*; and, by reference to the Rio de Janeiro papers, it is seen that she sailed from that port on the 25th of November, for Africa, by the Azores, and that another steam vessel, of probably smaller size, left the same port about the same time, also for Africa, *via* Fayal. We have heard further, that the *Providencia*, previous to her appearance at Ambriz, was in the Congo, and that upon the boats of Her Majesty's sloop *Siren*, which was cruising in that river, approaching, she fired into them and steamed away.

"How far this may be correct, and whether she shipped any slaves in the Congo, Her Majesty's Government will have better and more direct means of ascertaining than we can possess; but it is believed that, besides the 1,084 slaves embarked at Ambriz, she took in others elsewhere. Whether this be so or not, the profits derivable from this adventure, supposing it even not to go beyond the positive shipment at Ambriz, are such as will, we fear, more than counterbalance all other losses, and stimulate to farther and continued efforts of the same kind, and we sincerely regret to find what we had the honour to state in our last year's report so fully verified.

"How far the idea therein suggested, of old craft being employed in this traffic as decoys, may appear to be justified by the fact, that out of

the twenty-one vessels taken by the *Styx*, eight were destroyed by Commander Chads on the spot as unseaworthy, it will be for your lordship to judge.

"It would seem that this is not the first successful trip the *Providencia* has made, so that it is impossible to estimate the returns which she may have yielded; but we understand that she takes her slaves at £17. per head for every one received on board, including all casualties, so that, confining the calculation to the 1,084 slaves alone, which we know to have been shipped at Ambriz, it gives a sum of between £18,000 and £19,000."—*Par. Pap.* No. 366, 1848, pp. 171, 172.

In consequence of the extended space to which this article has run, we must defer until our next *Reporter* a statement of particulars relating to the slave-trade in northern and eastern Africa.

HORRORS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

It is not frequently that, in the dry details forwarded to the Government by the Commissioners and others engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, we get much information as to the miseries and mortality which accompany it. In the late papers there are a few references, however, to these points, which we give in corroboration of the evidence laid before our readers last month.

Lieutenant Barnard to the Commander, dated Thunderbolt, August 15th, 1846.

"Whilst we were at Zanzibar, the American barque *Lucy Penniman* brought out a cargo for the purchase of 5,000 slaves, for which the slavers have been making a great rush ever since. In May, 1844, 7,000 of them were drowned in a barque called the *Julia*, on the Barsas da India; 300 were burnt in a barracoon, and 200 died of sickness in a small schooner, which attempted to get away, but was obliged to put back with half her miserable cargo; 1,500 were got off from Inhambane and Delagoa Bay, through the agency of Paulo Roderique, who had again returned from Rio; 420 were found on board a brig which we drove on shore, and about 350 were taken or driven on shore by the *Mutino*, which accounts for a great proportion of them."

Extract of a Letter from Sir Charles Hotham, dated Penelope, St. Helena, April 7th, 1847.

"On rounding Cape Lopez the character of the slave-trade changes, and the speculation on the part of the Brazilian is founded on the principle of employing vessels of little value, to be crowded to excess with slaves. It is said that one arrival in four pays the adventure; here it is, therefore, that the traffic assumes its most horrid form; at this moment the *Penelope* has in tow a slaver of certainly not more than 60 tons, in which 312 human beings were stowed; the excess of imagination cannot depict a scene more revolting."

Report of Her Majesty's Judge at Loanda, dated July 6th, 1846.

"One of the Portuguese launches stationed along shore fell in, on the 8th ultimo, with a large boat filled with negroes, between this place and Ambriz. The men in charge of the latter, finding she must be taken, threw the slaves overboard, to the number of eleven, and, running the boat aground, escaped into the woods, carrying off with them everything but one sail. Of these eleven negroes, three of whom were females, seven were drowned before the launch could come up with them, one died shortly afterwards, and the survivors, boys from ten to thirteen years of age, on being examined before the Court, all concurred in declaring that they were the property of a noted slave-dealer in this place, named Manoel Jozé Constantino, the same who appears as surety in the bond, a copy of which was inclosed in our despatch of the 13th February, 1847, and that they were put into the boat from his own premises, in this city, which open directly upon the water. The Court have declared the boat to be a good prize, and have forwarded the whole case to the acting Juiz de Direito, in order to his proceeding against Constantino for a violation of the Decree of the 10th December, 1836."—*Ibid.* p. 171.

Consul Crowe to Lord Palmerston, dated Tripoli, Sept. 27, 1847.

"I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Gilbert, announcing the arrival of the caravan from Waday, bringing about 1000 slaves, the greater part females, who will be sold at Benjaze, and there be embarked for various parts of the Levant. They had been five months on their sad journey, and your lordship will learn, with increased abhorrence of this inhuman traffic, that many poor creatures, whose feet had become swollen and blistered in walking over the burning sands of the desert, and who were, therefore, unable to keep up with the caravan, were abandoned on the road, as they fell, exhausted by fatigue and suffering, and were there left to perish miserably of thirst and hunger."—*Class D.*—1848, p. 69.

Commander Sprigg, of the *Ferret*, to the Commodore, dated Sierra Leone, December 12, 1847.

The following are the details of a capture made on the 11th of December:—

"A sail was reported; slaves in masses were visible on the deck; I fired a musket to reduce their sail. On hailing, I was informed she had 853 slaves from Loango, three days out. I have been many years familiar with slave ships, yet the miserable state of this vessel outdid all I had ever seen. It must have been the acme of endurance to them while we were chasing, for the crew of the slaver had forced and confined all below, except the sick, and about fifty or so girls, for six hours. I was unable to get at the horrid truths that night, owing to the late hour of capture, which allowed me only to remove thirty-five prisoners, and sixty slaves. Next day I found that, with four thrown overboard the previous evening, the deaths were twenty-eight, and as many more almost dead, which I attributed to suffocation. Having fortunately filled from the rains near twenty tuns of water, I was enabled forthwith to remove 271 of the exhausted and sickly cases, which, with the prisoners and our own crew, made near 400 on board the *Ferret*; but this was greatly aggravated by the condition not only of these slaves but the prisoners, twenty of whom were down with malignant fever, making our decks a scene of loathsome suffering, and calling for our best exertions to aid them. Death ended the cases of four prisoners and thirty-one slaves during our passage to Sierra Leone, whilst that of the slaver was eighty-eight.

"I would avoid any unnecessary mention of the misery that existed when captured, but as you are aware, Sir, that the hasty conversion of vessels, from mercantile pursuits to slavers, always inflicts a deplorable cruelty on the slaves, from the deficiencies of ventilation and the usual accommodation to feed them, so in this case the sordid avarice of this wealthy proprietor is to be abhorred, for he embarked one-half on his own account, with permission for the other factories to cram her to the extent of 853, charging 110 milreas for each that should reach Brazil. Had the number been confined to 550, the space would then afford room and a chance of life."—*Class A.*, 1848, pp. 328-9.

Her Majesty's Judge at St. Helena, dated Nov. 27, 1848:—

"A brigantine named the *Luiza*, of 162½ tons, new British admeasurement, has been detained by Commander Edmunds, of Her Majesty's sloop *Heroine*, with 650 negroes, 83 of whom died on their passage to this island. This brigantine was, in all probability, Brazilian also, as a Brazilian ensign was found on board; but as no papers were found, the condemnation took place on the ground of the vessel's not being entitled to the protection of any flag, and the slaves, 536 in number, surviving at the time of adjudication, were accordingly condemned to Her Majesty."—*Ibid.* p. 263.

REPORT OF THE SLAVE-TRADE COMMITTEE.

The Select Committee appointed to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave-trade, and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them, from time to time, to the House, and also their opinion thereupon, have further considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following resolutions:—

1. That it appears by evidence laid before this Committee, that the state of the African slave-trade with relation to America, at the undermentioned periods, was, as far as can be ascertained, as follows:—

No. 1.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported Westward from *Africa*, from 1788 to 1840.

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Portuguese Colonies.	Imported into other Countries.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.
		Average Proportion.	Amount.				
In 1788	100,000	14 perct.	14,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	86,000
1788 to 1805 ..	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	73,000
1805 to 1810 ..	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	73,000
1810 to 1815 ..	93,000	14 "	13,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	80,000
1815 to 1817 ..	106,000	25 "	26,800	32,000	31,000	17,000	80,000
1817 to 1819 ..	100,000	25 "	26,000	34,000	34,000	12,000	80,000
1819 to 1825 ..	103,000	25 "	25,800	39,000	37,000	1,200	77,200
1825 to 1830 ..	123,000	25 "	31,000	40,000	50,000	4,000	94,000
1830 to 1835 ..	78,500	25 "	19,600	40,000	15,000	3,900	58,900
1835 to 1840 ..	135,800	25 "	33,900	29,000	65,000	7,900	101,900

No. 2.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been annually Exported and Imported Westward from *Africa*, from 1840 to 1848.

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Brazil.	Captured by Cruisers.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.
		Average Proportion.	Amount.				
1840 ..	64,114	25 percent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,610	48,080
1841 ..	45,067	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	3,966	33,823
1842 ..	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,050	21,800
1843 ..	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297
1844 ..	54,102	25 "	13,525	16,000	26,000	4,577	40,577
1845 ..	36,758	25 "	9,180	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,669
1846 ..	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,000	2,788	57,088
1847 ..	84,350	25 "	21,089	1,500	57,800	3,967	63,267

2. That during the progress of the present year the slave-trade has been in a state of unusual vigour and activity. [It was the wish of the Committee that a Resolution should have been reported exhibiting the number of slave vessels which have been captured in any part of the world since 1839, but from the impossibility of obtaining the necessary information, without a considerable delay, such Resolution does not appear.]

3. That from the end of the year 1845, down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British preventive squadron have been raised to a point never before attained, and that squadron has been supported by the squadrons of France and the United States, according to treaties.

4. That the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers, in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa in those years, as estimated according to the table affixed to the first resolution.

5. That during the years 1846 and 1847, and during the progress of the present year, the price of slaves in Brazil has experienced a progressive and very considerable decline.

6. That the actual direct expenditure connected with the suppression of the slave-trade appears at present to be not less than £650,000 per annum, without taking into account, on the one hand, the share of establishments and charges for the non-effective service, which may belong to this portion of the active service, nor, on the other, the question of what proportion of the naval force it may be necessary to maintain for the protection of commerce.

7. That the African slave-trade of Brazil has been attended with very large profit, and that it is now conducted with an amount of organization, and with a degree of confidence in the success of its adventures, such as have never been before opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in suppressing it.

8. That the extent and activity of the African slave-trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the exertions of the governments of Cuba and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave-labour in the markets of Europe.

9. That the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African slave-trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than at any former period.

10. That the sufferings and mortality of slaves in the barracoons and in the middle passage are appalling to humanity, and the intensity of the sufferings, and the amount of the mortality, are unexampled in the history of the slave-trade.

11. That in the uncertainty under which the Committee labour, whether any recommendations which they might make would be accepted by the Government and Parliament, they have not thought it advisable to take into consideration, at this late period of the session, an alteration of the policy heretofore pursued for the suppression of the slave-trade. The Committee have been induced to adopt this course from a wish not to weaken or embarrass the Executive Government during the recess, but they cannot conclude without urging upon the immediate attention of the Government the difficulties and embarrassments which attach to the present position of the subject.

12. That the Committee is of opinion that it is expedient that this Committee should be re-appointed at the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

10th August, 1848.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Extent of the Slave Trade at different periods from Mr. Bandinel's Table, and of the Prices of ordinary Havana Sugar, as given in Parliamentary Return, No. 400, Session 1848.

DATE.	Average Price of Sugar per Cwt.	Rise.	Fall.	Amount of slaves Exported.	Increase in Slave Trade.	Decrease in Slave Trade.
1820 to 1825	s. d. 31 0	103,000
1825 to 1830	34 6	0 per cent.	..	125,000	21 per cent.	..
1830 to 1835	24 8	..	20 per cent.	79,000	..	37 per cent.
1835 to 1840	29 3	10 per cent.	..	135,000	75 per cent.	..
1840.....	25 4	..	13 per cent.	64,114	..	53 per cent.
1841 to 1844	21 1	..	17 per cent.	45,605	..	29 per cent.
1845 to 1847	25 7	18 per cent.	..	65,743	44 per cent.	..

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REMARKS ON THE SLAVE TRADE and African Squadron. By COMMANDER HENRY JAMES MATSON, R.N. James Ridgway, Piccadilly, and all Booksellers.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, 1848.

The Slave-trade Committee have made their Report, but have not proposed to Parliament any measures to remedy the dreadful evil developed in the evidence which has been laid before them. They have confined themselves, for the present year, to a series of declaratory resolutions, which fully confirm the general views we have long taken of the slave-trade; the impetus given to it by the Sugar Act of 1846; and the utter inefficiency of the cruising system to suppress it. Many sincere abolitionists will deeply regret this, and will almost abandon the hope that this gigantic crime can ever be destroyed. They have thought that the slave-trade must be attacked at the source of supply; we, on the contrary, have long been convinced that it must be assailed at the source of demand. Thus thought Granville Sharp, the father of British abolitionists; thus thought the African Institution, when, after twenty years of laborious but unsuccessful exertion to introduce the lights of civilization and religion into Africa, its executive declared, "It is in slavery that the slave-trade has its origin: it is the market provided by the slaveholder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage; and to the misery and degradation of a continent;" and thus thought Thomas Clarkson, whose last years were earnestly devoted to the overthrow of slavery, as the only certain mode of putting an end to the slave-trade. It is, therefore, false, as is conveniently assumed by the venal portion of the public press, that the continuance of the cruising system on the coast of Africa is due to the "Exeter-Hall philanthropists," whose "sentimental philosophy," they say, has not only been most costly to the nation, but absolutely injurious to the cause they professed to have at heart; and multitudes, who care not that Africa is desolated and degraded by the slave-trade, and millions of its people reduced to all the horrors of slavery, rejoice at the opportunity it affords them of having a fling at the men who are the glory of our nation, and who have been the truest benefactors of our race. Should any of this class, perchance, see this paper, let them learn that it is a fundamental principle of the Anti-slavery Society, "that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character*; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of its objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles." Let them learn also that the Society has formally called upon the Government to withdraw the cruising squadron from Africa, so far as it is employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, and to substitute for it better modes of operation, in order to secure that most desirable and important result.

The principal conclusions to which the Slave-trade Committee have arrived, may be summed up as follows:—That the number of slaves shipped from Africa at the present time is nearly equal to what it was, on the average per annum, from 1788 to 1805; that the mortality on the middle passage has increased, under the cruising system, from fourteen to twenty-five per cent.; that during

the progress of the present year, the slave-trade has been in a state of unusual vigour and activity; that the preventive squadron, assisted by the French and American squadrons, is in a state of great efficiency; that, nevertheless, the captures, during the years 1846 and 1847, do not exceed four per cent. of the number of slaves shipped from Africa; that the sufferings and mortality by which the slave-trade is now attended are appalling to humanity, and are unexampled in the history of that horrible traffic; and that the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African slave-trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than ever.

The responsibility of this painful state of things belongs, in great measure, to the Government and the Legislature of this country. They have means within their power, if they choose to try them, which would effectually uproot the slave-trade; they can demand, for it is amply secured by the stipulations of treaties, that all slaves illegally imported into the Spanish colonies and Brazil shall be forthwith liberated. Let Lord Palmerston renew, in good faith, the negotiations for a convention to secure this object, commenced by him in 1840, and unhappily suspended by Lord Aberdeen in 1841; let him fix the time for the ratification of such convention, and if then the Spanish and Brazilian Governments are not prepared to give effect to it, let the British Government demand of Spain the repayment of the £400,000 sterling, with interest thereon, actually paid to that power in 1817, for the suppression of the slave-trade; and notify to the authorities in Brazil and Spain that, on the opening of the next session of Parliament, they will be prepared to lay before the Legislature a Bill for the purpose of excluding their produce from the British markets, until slavery itself be abolished throughout their several territories and colonies. These propositions are reasonable; they are within the competency of Government and of Parliament; and, what is, probably, more to the purpose, they will accomplish the object aimed at in a manner perfectly consistent with good faith, the national honour, the stipulations of treaties, and the highest interests of humanity and freedom.

We have said that the Slave-trade Committee have not recommended to the House of Commons any remedy for the slave-trade. They thought it not advisable to take into consideration, at the close of the session, "an alteration of the policy heretofore pursued for the suppression of the slave-trade;" and have suggested the expediency of re-appointing the Committee "at the commencement of the next session of Parliament." But, though the Committee in its collective capacity have refused, for the present, to suggest a remedy, individual members have not hesitated to publish theirs to the world. MR. HUTT, the chairman of the Committee, proposes the following remedies:—"That the extension of legitimate commerce, and of other civilizing influences in Africa, would necessarily tend to divert the population of that continent from trafficking in their fellow-creatures; that, at some parts of the coast, and of the interior of Africa, there are large bodies of men disposed, of their own free will, to emigrate to the British colonies as labourers for a period of service; that the occasional return of such labourers to Africa, after the expiration of their term of service, would be calculated to promote further emigration from Africa, as well as to develop the resources and to advance the social improvement of that continent; that it is of the highest importance to the interests of humanity that the demand for labour in Brazil and Cuba should be supplied by free emigration from Africa, rather than by the slave-trade; and that there is ground to hope that the Governments of Cuba and Brazil would not be unwilling to convert the supply of labour now furnished by the slave-trade into a free emigration, under provident and humane regulations." SIR ROBT. H. INGLIS's propositions may be summed up as follows:—"That Her Majesty's Government endeavour to prevail on all the allies of the crown to join with the Queen in declaring the slave-trade is piracy," and "to affix a personal punishment upon all their subjects engaged in such trade;" that the Government "take measures for obtaining from Her Majesty's allies an universal right of mutual search, limited to such portion of the African coast as shall be known to contribute to the supply of slaves;" that treaties "with the native powers of Africa should be formed for the suppression of the slave-trade and the encouragement of legitimate commerce;" that such treaties should "authorize the establishment of commercial ports in the neighbourhood of the present slave-trading districts," and "the power to seize on their waters any slaver, for the purpose of carrying the same to a Vice-Admi-

ralty Court;" and "that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa be prominently regarded as one of the most effectual means of suppressing the slave-trade." In concluding his recommendations, the hon. baronet observes, "that while they respectfully submit to the House the other considerations hereinbefore set forth, as either necessary or highly desirable for the prevention of the slave-trade, no other measures can be crowned with complete success, or receive the divine blessing, so long as, coldly and systematically, habitual encouragement is given to the wholesale commission of the sins and crimes connected with the slave-trade, merely because the foreign perpetrators can thereby supply a pound of sugar at a fractional price below that at which the colonies of the British empire can supply it, by free and honest labour, to their fellow-subjects at home. Mr. MONCKTON MILNES observes, "That the measures suggested for the suppression of the slave-trade have been, First, the occupation of the coast of Africa by an increased force, and the destruction of the barracoons and property of the slave-dealers. Secondly, the punishing the persons engaged in the slave-trade as pirates, with the consent of their several Governments. Thirdly, treaty arrangements with the chiefs and headmen on the coast of Africa, and the extension of legitimate commerce. Fourthly, the competition of free emigration with forcible abduction." With respect to the first of these, the Hon. Gentleman thinks that "the present marine guard can be of little service," unless additional stringent measures be added thereto; and that without such measures "the facility of procuring commodities in exchange for slaves is so great, that there is no hope of the slave-trade being superseded by the substitution, on the part of the Africans, of articles of legitimate commerce;" that "the difficulty of execution of any measures of personal severity, is such as to leave but little hope of any advantage following from such an attempt." He is in favour of treaties with African chiefs, and in relation to African emigration he suggests:—that as "a literally free emigration from any part of the coast of Africa seems impossible," the only hope of procuring it "would be to institute such measures as would make it the interest of the chief or headman, by payments in the form of passport money, to permit, if not to encourage, such emigration." Mr. MILNES, as well as Sir R. H. INGLIS, is decidedly opposed to the withdrawal of the cruisers from Africa. Mr. CARDWELL seems to rely on "the adoption of measures of punishment adequate to the repression of the offence, and commensurate to its enormity;" and the maintenance, by Great Britain and her allies, of "a joint police upon the coast of Africa." ADMIRAL BOWLES recommends further negotiations with foreign powers, "to meet the difficulties and impediments which still oppose the final extinction of the slave-trade;" that, "as far as practicable, the squadron stationed on the coast of Africa should be exclusively composed of vessels being either steamers or very fast sailers;" "that the propriety of inflicting some severe punishment on all persons taken in the prosecution of the trade, be considered in the proposed negotiations;" and "that all practicable inducements be held out to the native princes and authorities to afford their assistance and co-operation in the capture of vessels, and the destruction of slaving establishments on the coast of Africa."

Such are the recommendations of the several members of the Committee who have proposed remedies. There is scarcely anything new in these propositions. The Government has already used its best efforts to get the several nations of Europe and America to declare the slave-trade piracy, in vain. France, Spain and Portugal peremptorily refuse so to regard it; and with respect to those nations which have conceded the point, they severally reserve to themselves the exclusive right of punishing their own subjects or citizens convicted of being engaged in this crime. With respect to the mutual right of search, neither France nor the United States will hear of it. We hold these recommendations, therefore, to be impracticable.

Much stress is laid upon the co-operation of the French squadron with our own on the coast of Africa, but, judging from the results, we must confess we think it of little value. It can capture no vessels engaged in the slave-trade but those which bear its own flag, or that of this country. The total number of its captures, up to the end of 1846, appears to have been eleven. All these were sent to the French courts for adjudication, and all were liberated! From this time there is no record of additional captures; at all events, the French squadron confines its operations to the custody of ships of its own nation. The American squadron is doing less.

With respect to several of the minor propositions of the Committee, we believe, even if they could be realized, that they would

be found of little practical value in the suppression of the slave-trade. The proposition which, though the most plausible, we deem to be the most dangerous, is that of flooding the British colonies, the Brazilian empire, and the Spanish islands, with African emigrants. Mr. HURT asserts that "There are large bodies of free men, willing to emigrate, to be found in Africa;" Mr. MILNES, on the contrary, affirms that "literally free emigration from any part of the coast of Africa seems impossible." Both these gentlemen were members of the Committee, and yet, with the evidence before them, they have arrived at different conclusions on this vital point. We assert that, except at the British settlements on the coast, no free men can be obtained for purposes of emigration. Independently of the evidence we have given, in past numbers of the *Reporter*, in proof of this, we have the fact before us that the *Bangalore*, sent to the coast by the Government to obtain emigrants for Trinidad, returned with a cargo of *one*, picked up nobody knows where, at a cost of about £1,500 to this country. The agent who accompanied this vessel reports that emigrants cannot be obtained without purchase, or arrangements with the chiefs, equivalent to purchase. It is understood that a second vessel, sent by the Government to the coast with the same object, has failed to obtain a single emigrant, for a similar reason. In a conversation, which took place in the House the other evening, the question having been asked, who is to pay the cost of these fruitless expeditions?—the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER is reported to have said, "We must, I suppose." We predicted that this would be the case; at the same time, we cannot but feel indignant that the public money should be thus wasted.

But, supposing that Mr. MILNES' recommendation, that measures should be taken "to make it the interest of the chief or headmen, by payment in the shape of passport money, to permit, if not encourage such emigration," be adopted, what would this be, but the renewal of the slave-trade by this country, under pretence of supplying the British colonies with free labour, obtained by purchase? Even if there were no moral objection to such an arrangement, it would infallibly lead to a fearful increase of the internal traffic in human beings, with all its accompanying horrors. And should the principle of supplying the Brazilian and Spanish colonies by similar means, agreeably to the recommendation of Mr. HURT, be admitted, this result would also necessarily follow, that the *soi-disant* free Africans would become Brazilian and Spanish slaves. It is absurd to suppose that any other fate would await them in those countries. We do therefore, in the name of all that is humane and righteous, earnestly protest against this mode of dealing with the slave-trade.

We call the special attention of our readers to the extended report of the Meeting of our Anti-slavery friends at Exeter, from which it will be seen that they have applied themselves with becoming earnestness to the consideration of the deeply important and affecting position of the anti-slavery question, as respects the increase and accompanying horrors of the slave-trade, especially in its connexion with the operation of the Sugar Duties' Act of 1846. As we have already devoted so much of our space to the consideration of the subject, we must content ourselves with cordially recommending the excellent Address of the Exeter Committee to the serious attention of our friends throughout the country, with the hope that they will without delay use every endeavour to enlighten and impress the public mind, in their various localities, and urge upon their members who represent them in Parliament to co-operate.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERTY BAZAAR.

A bazaar in aid of the anti-slavery cause is proposed to be held in Philadelphia during the following winter, similar to one which took place two years ago, when various contributions from England were sent over, which were much admired, and sold well. We are again solicited by our transatlantic friends to help them in their efforts for the enfranchisement of nearly three millions of our oppressed fellow-creatures. Any articles that may be sent will be thankfully received by Ann Darton, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London; S. A. Alexander, Church-street, Stoke-Newington; R. D. Baker, Marks'-buildings, Lee-crescent, Birmingham; Mrs. Alfred Thomas, Charlotte-street, Park-street, Bristol; Miss Tribe, Portland-street, Kingsdown, Bristol; and at the Anti-Slavery-office, 27, New Broad-street.

EXETER ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

INCREASE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

A public meeting was convened by the Exeter Anti-Slavery Committee, at the Athenæum, on Friday, the 11th of August last. The attendance was large, in spite of the wet weather. On the motion of Mr. R. Dymond, seconded by Mr. Drewe,

The Rev. J. BRISTOW was called to the chair. He said they were assembled in consequence of the fearful increase of the slave-trade of Cuba and the Brazils, the horrors of which had been aggravated by the Act passed by our Parliament in 1846, for the admission of the produce of slave-labour from those parts of the world. They bitterly deplored the passing of that Bill, and desired to persuade the legislature to retrace its steps. The returns made to the House of Commons showed that while the average number of slaves imported into Brazil and Cuba previously to the passing of that Act was 32,000 annually, since then it had risen to 64,000. The deportation from the coast of Africa was generally 100,000; and the difference arose from the fatal effect which the horrible sufferings of the middle passage had upon the human constitution. The reverend gentleman then proceeded to describe the cruelties inflicted upon the negroes in their passage, and related instances which will be found more amply told in the address. He urged that the aggravation of these cruelties arose in a great measure from the impetus given to the slave-trade by the Sugar Duties' Act of 1846. It had come out, from their own confession, that the Brazilians were actually contemplating the giving up of slavery itself, as unprofitable, because they could not get access to the British market; but when this Bill was passed they immediately prepared to increase the traffic. He eloquently exhorted the meeting, as Christians, philanthropists, and Britons, to use all legal means to relieve their country from the stigma of aiding this accursed trade.

The Rev. THOMAS HINCKES, on behalf of the Committee, read the following able address:—

ADDRESS OF THE EXETER ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS.

The Committee of the Exeter Anti-Slavery Society desire to call the attention of their fellow-citizens to the measures lately announced by Government, for the regulation of the duties upon foreign sugar, and the hearing of those measures upon the anti-slavery cause.

They deem it a solemn duty to record their conviction, that the policy represented in the Sugar Duties' Act of 1846, and in the Bill passed this session, respecting the admission of slave-grown sugars to the British market, is utterly at variance with the great principles previously recognized by this nation; and that, if persevered in, it will inevitably tend to perpetuate and increase the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade. In making this declaration, which is sustained by the terrible experience of the last two years, they would have it clearly understood, that they are not influenced by any political considerations. In opposing the present Government measure, they are not identified either with the Protectionist party in Parliament, or with the West India interest. They would scrupulously guard themselves from all party association. In considering this great question, they know nothing of private interests. They take their stand upon the highest ground. They would view the question simply as a moral one, and with reference to the universal principles of justice and humanity.

The Bill passed this session provides for the gradual reduction and ultimate abolition of the differential duties between free-grown and slave-grown sugars. It will thus throw open the British market to the planters of Cuba and Brazil—men, who not only uphold an immense slave-system at home, but also maintain an infamous slave-trade, which is conducted under circumstances of the most appalling and reckless brutality. The present measure merely carries out the policy commenced in 1846, and is recommended by our leading statesmen as an application of the principles of free-trade. Without questioning those principles, the Committee would remind their fellow-citizens, that mere economical considerations, however important, are not the highest, and that the first place should not be assigned to them by a Christian people. A moral question must be decided, before the economical question can be entertained.

If it can be proved, that under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the removal of all differential duties must, of necessity, tend to perpetuate slavery in Brazil and Cuba, and to aggravate the horrors of the abominable traffic, by means of which the slave-markets of those countries are supplied, then it is the imperative duty of a people, long distinguished for faithful and unflinching adherence to anti-slavery principles, to resist a change, which, however desirable on economical grounds, involves such a fearful amount of moral wrong.

Unhappily, there is abundant proof that our altered policy has already most injuriously affected the interests of humanity; and should the same course be pursued, we shall give a further impulse to slavery and the slave-trade, and thus make our lofty profession of anti-slavery principles valueless and vain. It will appear neither more nor less than a terrible mockery.

The Committee would direct attention to the fact, that this has been proved by official returns, and evidence before Committee of Parliament, that the Sugar Duties' Act of 1846 has given a great stimulus to the trade in slaves, by opening a new market for the sale of the produce of their labour. This result was to be anticipated. So long as their sugars were excluded from this country, the Cuban and Brazilian planters had no urgent need of labourers, and the slave-trade declined. The system which deprived them of Great Britain as a customer could not be a profitable one; and there is much reason for believing that the idea of abandoning slavery, in order to secure the English market, had been entertained amongst them, previous to the fatal measure of 1846. This enlarged their trade at once, and inspired them with hopes of still greater advantages in future. At the same time the slave-trade revived, and has since increased to a fearful extent. On this fact the Committee rest, in calling

for a determined opposition to the Government scheme, or any similar measure. They would not enter into the question, as to whether free-labour can or cannot compete with slave-labour, under favourable circumstances. They point to the significant fact of a slave-trade now increasing in proportion to the increased facility for the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British market. With this fact before them, they cannot hesitate to declare that justice and humanity, and a regard for the national honour and consistency, require the English people to return to their original policy, in dealing with slave-trading countries.

As a confirmation of their views, they would direct attention to the following extracts from evidence taken this Session, before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and just published. They find it stated by one of the witnesses, that from the year 1840 to 1845, the yearly average of (slave) importations into Cuba and Brazil, was 32,600. While in 1846, the year of the passing of the Bill, which reduced the duty on slave-grown sugar, the number rose to 64,233! In 1847, it was increased to 64,967; and this, too, at a time when the squadron on the coast of Africa, as described by the same witness and others, "was in a state of almost unprecedented activity." So great was the stimulus given, by the reduction of the duties, to the sugar trade of Cuba and Brazil, that in the short space of two years the number of slaves imported into these countries was almost doubled, in spite of the utmost vigilance and vigour on the part of the preventive force. And yet, in the face of this fact, the Government now proposed a Bill for the continued reduction, and early abolition of the duties! The immediate and inevitable result of the new measure will be a further increase of the profits of the slave-holder, and the horrors of the slave-trade.

What these horrors are at the present time the following details, gathered from the evidence before alluded to, will sufficiently show. For the sake of brevity, they are brought together in the form of narrative, and without the introduction of the names of witnesses:—

"The effort of a slave captain is to land as many slaves as he can on the coast of the Brazils; but as it is not possible for the most practised eye to tell a healthy from an unhealthy slave, by seeing him in the barracoons, if the vessel would take 300 slaves, moderately crowded, the captain would take half as many again, say 450, and cram them on board, for the sake of putting them to the test, knowing that all those who were not likely to cross the Atlantic would sicken during the first 48 hours; then, directly they show the symptoms of weakness, they are put on one side of the deck, no food nor water is given them, and they are allowed to die; they are then thrown overboard."

It may be remarked that the practice of overcrowding slave-ships has prevailed to a frightful extent since the introduction of the cruising system. Small vessels of about 130 tons, not much larger than a river barge, have been captured, with nearly five hundred human beings stowed between decks! The slaves, according to the evidence, "are packed into vessels upon their sides; they are generally jammed in in such masses, that, even allowing that there was elevation sufficient for them to rise up, they could not do so without the whole section moving together. They are put like books upon a shelf. It is found almost impossible to keep vessels clean. Many, after they come in, are abandoned, from the impossibility of getting any one to clean them; the slaves lie amidst the accumulated filth. Food is conveyed to them, frequently by some half-witted person kept for the purpose. The stench is so excessively offensive that this work is perhaps the greatest punishment to which any one on board can be subjected. The person who performs it has to get on a mass of filth, and almost upon a mass of living bodies at the same time. Frequently those that are more remote do not get any food at all."

The Africans are accustomed from the earliest period of life to drink water in very large quantities; they require it. Their sufferings from want of it are much more dreadful than ours would be in like circumstances. It is said, that a boy of ten or twelve years of age would drink more than a gallon a day. On board the slave-ships a tin cup-full, once in three days, is said sometimes to have been all that has been given. It has been found that this supports life; but the agony thus occasioned is indescribable. It is ten times more horrible than that which is caused by want of food.

In the case of a death, the body lies amongst the living until an alarm is given, and sometimes until it becomes putrid. When landed, the unhappy slaves are in a state of most awful emaciation and suffering. "The knee-bones appear almost like the head of a person; the muscular part of the arm is gone, it is a mere bone covered with a bit of skin; the abdomen is highly protuberant. There is a complete wasting of the animal system, a mere mass of bones remain. A man takes them up in his arms, and carries them out of the vessel. They frequently require three months' care and feeding before they are fit for the market." The most favourite cargoes at the present time are boys of from eight to twelve years of age. "They pack more conveniently."

Such are the present customary atrocities of this thrice-accursed traffic, as reported by the Committee of the House of Commons this session.

In connexion with this subject the Committee would remark, that the attempt to suppress the slave-trade by means of a naval force on the coast of Africa has resulted in total failure. It has not diminished the infamous traffic, while it has aggravated the sufferings of the unhappy slave. It has been proved that this system of suppression, by leading to the employment of smaller and faster-sailing slave-ships, and to other means of evading detection and capture, has fearfully increased the horrors and mortality of the middle passage. Experience teaches us, that so long as there is a brisk demand for slaves, the trade in them will be carried on in spite of all risks, and a commensurate supply be provided. They would therefore express an earnest hope that a system, not only so profitless, but so prolific of evil, may be speedily abandoned.

At the same time they would direct attention to the position which this country now occupies with reference to the anti-slavery cause. At the expense of a million a year, and of many valuable lives, we are seeking to suppress the slave-trade by force, while at the same moment we give it the most effectual encouragement by opening our ports to slave-grown produce! They have no hesitation in characterising such conduct as a lamentable exhibition either of national folly or national hypocrisy.

Experience has taught us that force cannot suppress the slave-trade, so long as the slave markets are open. Let us close the market, and the trade will, of necessity, cease. This we may hope to do. By sternly and consistently excluding all slave-grown sugars from our shores, we shall at once decrease the demand for slave-labour, and consequently the

horrors of the slave-traffic; and, in all probability, drive the Cuban and Brazilian planters, at last, to abandon a system which has become so detrimental to their interests.

It cannot be too emphatically declared, that the settlement of this great question, in a manner worthy of the national character, rests with the PEOPLE. The recent debates in Parliament have afforded melancholy proof of the blindness or indifference of our leading statesmen to the moral aspects of the subject. The question has been argued with almost exclusive reference to certain economical principles and commercial interests. It has been treated as a mere pecuniary or party question, whereas it is simply a moral one.

The question for the people of this country is this,—Are they willing, after such gigantic efforts and sacrifices in behalf of the anti-slavery cause, to sanction a retrograde policy? Will they consent to carry out an economical theory at the expense of the African race? Do they esteem a diminution in the price of sugar, an equivalent for a fearful increase of negro suffering?

This fact should be widely known. The slave-trade is, at this moment, carried on as briskly as ever, and with aggravated cruelty. Week after week, the horrors of the middle passage are renewed. Week after week, hundreds of our African brethren are torn from their country, and hurried, amidst suffering at which the heart sickens, into hopeless captivity. And, be it as widely known, we as a nation are in a great measure responsible for this state of things. By purchasing the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, we directly foster the infernal trade, and make the most effectual provision possible for its permanent prosperity. *So long as we patronize the slave-holding planters of these countries, there is no human probability of the extinction of the traffic.*

One course only is open to us, which is worthy of an anti-slavery people. We must retrace our steps. We must demand the repeal of the act of 1846, on the simple ground of humanity and justice to the African. We must say to the Cuban and Brazilian planters, "We will enter into no commercial relations with you; we refuse your produce, so long as you continue to traffic in the souls and bodies of our brethren; we will tax ourselves to any amount, rather than participate in your guilt." The moral influence which such a declaration would secure to us would be immense, and it is hardly possible that, in the face of our opposition and discouragement, the slave system should long continue profitable.

The committee would advert, in few words, to an objection that has been frequently urged against the course which they recommend. It is said, that it involves an inconsistency; that if we adopt it, we must exclude all slave-grown produce; that American cotton, as well as Brazilian sugar, must come under the ban, and that our testimony will be worthless, if directed against one article of commerce alone. In reply, they frankly admit and deplore the inconsistency. It is their earnest desire that the English nation should manifest more uncompromisingly its abhorrence of slavery, of every kind and degree. They would rejoice to witness some heroic act of self-denial on the part of the people. They would rejoice in behalf of the slave, wherever found, to see the national feeling calling for the discouragement of all slave-grown produce. At the same time, they freely acknowledge that the course which they recommend is beset with difficulties. But if we cannot at once do all that we ought, they submit that this is no reason for not doing that which we can. If we are not prepared on the instant to sacrifice our long-standing commerce with the United States, let us not, at least, increase our guilt by countenancing a new traffic which nourishes slavery, with the addition of the slave-trade.

The committee conclude by once more solemnly warning their fellow-citizens against the tendencies of the present policy, and earnestly commend to the people the cause of the injured and defenceless African, which they cannot but regard as having been virtually betrayed by those who direct the legislation of the country.

The Rev. JOHN BIGWOOD moved—"That the address just read be approved and adopted by this meeting, and that it be printed and circulated under the direction of the Exeter Anti-Slavery Committee." He wished that its sentiments could be written on the hearts of the slave-holders, that they might be induced to enter on a more humane and legitimate course of life. It was painful to have to agitate this subject now, when they had all fondly hoped that it was set at rest, and that the slave was free; he remembered, when a boy, having entered with delight on a festival to commemorate the first of August, the emancipation of the West Indian slaves; but he did not at that time think it would ever be his lot to engage in the contest, which he then hoped was already accomplished. Still, however, there was work remaining to be done; and they should begin it with determination, by telling the legislature they would not suffer, after the money they had paid for the removal of the curse of slavery, that their country should be any longer identified with a system the atrocities of which could only have been suggested by hell. Let the Government, expressing the nation's voice, put all the force of national opinion into action, for the abolition of slavery throughout the world. Let them no longer suffer the nation to countenance it by the use of slave-grown produce. Why, the Government justly inflicted punishment on a subject who received stolen goods; and what was slave-grown produce but stolen goods? What greater theft could there be than the stealing of a man's flesh and blood—the bodily ability to labour given him by the Almighty? Let not England deal in such goods—let no considerations of economy interfere with the claims of humanity. Let individuals for themselves resolve to use no slave-grown cotton or sugar. It was better to risk the reproach of singularity by eating strange food, or wearing a strange dress, than to have their consciences smeared with human blood. It had been said by an Apostle of old, that "if meat made his brother to offend, he would eat none while the world stood." Let them form a similar resolution, with regard to the produce of the slave's labour. By making sacrifices, let them prove themselves in earnest.

Mr. J. C. SERCOMBE seconded the resolution. He said that nothing but so important an object would have induced him to take part in this meeting; for he had left a very afflicted house. Looking at this question politically, he felt strongly on the point. The slave-trading nations had several times been negotiated with, by Britain, with a view to the abolition of the traffic; but not a single treaty had they been honest enough to keep; in every instance they had broken their treaties, and turned their backs upon their own professions. It was unfortunate that while our Government had a right, by these treaties, to demand that the slave-trade should not be carried on, they should yet blink the question; and while on the one hand they kept up cruisers for the ostensible purpose of putting it down, they should yet on the other hand say, "Send us your sugars—we'll take as much as you send." He himself was a free trader to a large extent, and he would be the first to tell the Brazilians, that the moment they would abolish slavery, they should have as free a market here, as in any other part of the world. But he thought it almost an infringement of the rights of Englishmen, that after they had paid so much money to prevent slavery in the West Indies, the Act of 1846 should compel them to encourage it in foreign lands. He knew it was said, that sugar was now become a necessary article of food, and great anxiety was expressed to get it cheap. But it did appear to him that, in all the arguments used in the House of Commons on this question, no one had looked at it as a question of moral right or wrong. Unless they stood upon the great moral principle, the legislature, by the pretence of economical expediency, would effectually blind the eyes of the public, and keep them in the dark, with regard to the disgusting cruelties under which their poor fellow-creatures suffered.

Mr. HARTLEY said the resolution had his perfect concurrence. He could safely say he was the oldest abolitionist in that room. He remembered when they first laboured to obtain the abolition of the slave-trade, which they succeeded in, when Mr. Canning was minister, forty years ago; and he looked back also to a later period, 1834, when slavery was abolished in the British colonies. Every one, he was sure, must have been painfully affected by the recital that evening of the sufferings of the slaves; and they must also be convinced, that if it was proved the increase of those sufferings arose from the measures of Government, the responsibility must rest on the Government; and that as British subjects not one of them was clear. The national character was involved in this guilty stain, and he believed it was now generally admitted, that nations were frequently punished for the crimes of their rulers.

The resolution having been passed, the Chairman introduced a long and faithful member of the Committee—

Mr. DREW, who moved—"That this meeting earnestly calls on the inhabitants of other cities and towns throughout the kingdom, to hold meetings immediately on the subject of negro slavery, and the present horrible increase of the slave-trade, with the admitted aggravation of its former cruelties, and also to communicate with their representatives in parliament thereon." He said that if they wished to get rid of those horrors and iniquities which they had heard so forcibly depicted, they ought neither to look to the legislature in its present tone and temper, nor to the Government, but to themselves. It was the people alone who could take up a subject like this, and grapple with it. He had attentively watched the progress of the question, and was fully satisfied that a meeting like this would be the forerunner of many other meetings; for there never had been any period when the whole subject was in a state so unsatisfactory to all the friends of humanity. In expressing that opinion, he looked back at the early struggles, at the strong party of enthusiastic men who combined themselves in Parliament for the apparently hopeless work of getting rid of the British slave-trade, and then of slavery in the colonies; but he saw now, owing to various circumstances, a dead apathy upon this subject in the public mind—not that his countrymen were less humane and benevolent than formerly, but that they were ignorant of the existing state of the question. He was an advocate of free trade himself; but he contended that slave-grown produce ought not to come under the category of free trade at all. He perceived, however, by the late speech of Sir Robert Peel, that that great party leader was averse to touching this question, and that a great body of other members were equally averse. It was necessary, therefore, that at least all who were here should bestir themselves, and spare no pains. They might calculate on years of effort; but he for his own part was satisfied that his views were founded in justice and truth; and therefore, though they might be opposed by those in authority and power, he for one would never cease to agitate on the subject. The nation had made a retrograde movement in 1846, when the Parliament had passed an Act, not only holding out encouragement to the existing slave-trade, but enabling those, who were previously about to abandon it, to continue it in the expectation of a more abundant tide of prosperity. The British Parliament had not only therefore supported the present slave-trade between Cuba, the Brazils, and Africa, but had actually made permanent provision for its progressive increase and lasting prosperity. He concluded by moving the resolution.

The Rev. R. PENMAN, of Axminster, seconded the resolution, emphatically urging the meeting not to suffer England to go back upon this

great question, but rather to go forwards by the express train at the rate of 200 miles an hour.

The resolution having been passed, the next one was moved by

Mr. PASSMORE EDWARDS, who said that he came from London, and the greatest city of the world was not the place to "move" before other cities. They must first get up a movement in the provinces, and then it would reach London; because large bodies had more inertia, and did not move so quickly sometimes as the smaller; and this had been the history of all the great questions, the solution of which threw such a distinguishing glory around our country. He moved—"That this meeting earnestly solicits the powerful aid of the Press, which is so generally ready to advocate the cause of humanity both at home and abroad, to awaken public attention to this important crisis in the history of slavery." He was glad to say that the slave system in America never rested on so weak a foundation as at present; and he had not the slightest doubt but in the course of a few years—it might be only four or five years—that disgrace would to a great extent be wiped away from the star-spangled banner. In France, one of the noblest minds now influencing the destinies of Europe had declared, a few months ago, that there should be no more slavery in the territories of the French Republic; and 100,000 congregated Frenchmen applauded the promise till it echoed again. He did not think the question was going back. He did not believe that anti-slavery principles had ceased to pervade the people of England; no, those sentiments, though sleeping, were strong as ever, and only needed to be gathered up, and concentrated for action, and set at work through Parliament, since it was vain to expect Parliament to move of itself. He had lately seen a tract, "*There is Death in the Pot*," written upon this subject by a distinguished lady, of which one gentleman in Bristol had caused 10,000 copies to be struck off. Well, but he did not think the slaves in our colonies would have been emancipated so quickly, if it had not been for the religion, zeal, philanthropy, and intelligence, of British ladies. He had also observed cheering symptoms in Gloucester and Worcester, which he had recently visited.

Mr. W. LEE seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. THOS. HINCKES moved the fourth resolution,—“That this meeting recommend to their fellow-citizens, as well as to the public generally, the disuse of all slave-grown produce as far as is practicable.” This was a way in which every individual might at once ease his own conscience on the subject of slavery, and bear social if not public testimony against that iniquity. It had often been said that they would be liable to deception, and could never be sure that what they were consuming was not slave-grown produce. The simple answer was, that in the majority of cases they *might* be sure that free-grown produce would be procured; because there were those dealers, in almost every community, who made it a point of conscience to sell nothing else. All who had strong feelings against slavery were, he considered, bound to adopt this course; and if they did not, they took on themselves a share of the guilt of encouraging that horrible traffic whose atrocities they so much deplored. His friend Mr. Drew had expressed his feeling that they were on the eve of an earnest and protracted agitation in reference to this matter. He (the reverend gentleman) quite sympathized with that feeling; he believed this meeting would not be an isolated one, but that a well organized and powerful agitation would be started, and not desist till its object was accomplished. They could consent to no compromise—to nothing less than the annulling of the act of 1846, and the employment of all the moral, political, and social influence of this country against that accursed traffic.

Mr. JOHN DYMOND (whose name alone, the chairman said, would have a greater effect than the most eloquent speech he could make) seconded the resolution, saying that they would have another meeting in this city before long, and in the meantime the committee would be glad to receive the names of any friends inclined to join them.

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the resolution, stated that when the great effort was made for the abolition of slavery in our own colonies, he was deputed with several others to visit the grand Anti-slavery Convention, in London; and he remembered taking with him, in the coach, a petition to Parliament, signed by 5,000 ladies of Exeter and its vicinity. He hoped those 5,000 signatures would be repeated.

Mr. JOHN DAW said, he had been requested by Mr. Dymond to move a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and although he had only just entered the room, he was ready to do anything at his friend's desire; and he quite accorded with the feeling of the meeting against slavery.

Mr. R. W. FOX seconded the motion. Whatever might be said about free trade, he could not see that slavery was compatible with free trade, or anything else free. He was happy to say that in Exeter they could get both free-labour cotton and sugar, and so there was very little excuse left. He denounced the purchase of slave produce as an encouragement of theft. He would not buy stolen goods, nor would he purchase the products of stolen labour.

The CHAIRMAN was about to acknowledge the motion, when he was met by an extraordinary interruption. A melancholy looking gentleman, seated at the back of the meeting, and apparently a very long way behind its spirit, said,—“Mr. Chairman, was it not decreed that Ham should be the servant of servants?”

The CHAIRMAN,—Is it not an injunction of one whom we are all bound to obey, to do to our fellow man as he would have him do to us?

The QUERIST then asked how the total abolition of slavery could be reconciled with the fulfilment of that prophecy? [The question excited visible astonishment and indignation.]

The Rev. Mr. BIGWOOD remarked that the Jews who crucified the Saviour might just as well have argued that they were guilty of no crime, because that crime had been foretold by prophecy.

The CHAIRMAN added that although it was predicted in the time of Noah that Canaan should be “a servant of servants to his brethren,” it was nowhere stated that this servitude should be perpetual.

No further questions were asked, and the meeting separated.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Aug. 22.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Lord DENMAN rose to move “that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions for the enforcement of all treaties with foreign powers for the extinction of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, and for the prosecution of all British subjects directly or indirectly concerned in violating the laws against that crime; and that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into Her serious consideration the expediency of concerting measures with her allies for declaring slave-trading piracy, with a punishment less severe than that now incurred according to the laws of nations for that crime.” The noble and learned lord said, that it was with very great regret he trespassed upon their lordships' time upon this subject. In addressing himself to the consideration of it, they must always bear in mind this proposition, that the slave-trade was one of the worst of human crimes, and occasioned the largest amount of suffering to its victims. His opinion was, that the slave-trade, under all circumstances, was a crime of the deepest dye, and that not only might the negro carried into slavery resist, but that any man, not prohibited by the laws of his country, or by the laws of any other country, would be justified in assisting a negro thus carried into slavery, in obtaining freedom and justice. The law of every civilized country condemned this iniquitous practice; and this being the case, he did not attempt to prove his position by argument, since it had received the assent of all civilized states. Upon a late occasion the House of Commons had taken into consideration the best means of suppressing the slave-trade: with that view a committee had been appointed by that house, but, as it appeared to him, the committee went into the inquiry with a preconceived opinion upon the subject, and the result of the inquiry went to confirm that preconceived opinion, the evidence taken before the committee being directed to that point. That opinion was one that was gaining ground—namely, that our attempts to suppress the slave-trade had in fact increased it, and that to put down the slave-trade it should be left entirely free; and that individuals, the worst of mankind, should be at liberty to deal with the trade as they pleased. Two propositions were put forward now, with respect to the continuance of our squadron on the coast of Africa. The first proposition was, that the slave-trade could not be put down, and that, therefore, all attempts to put it down should be abandoned; and the second proposition was, that our attempts to put it down by maintaining a squadron on the coast of Africa had done more harm than good, and had actually aggravated the horrors of the trade. He could disprove both propositions by facts that all the world knew. He could prove that the slave-trade had been suppressed. In the Bonny river, in the Gambia, and in other places which he need not mention, it had been totally suppressed. In 1843, two years after the stationing of our squadron on the coast of Africa, it was stated that in Brazil the slave-trade was considered to be a losing concern; and those who had been engaged in that traffic were preparing to turn their attention to other pursuits. Dr. Cliffe had stated before the Commons' committee that many had given up the trade in despair; that the trade had been “paralyzed,”—that was his expression. And why? Because they all thought that England was in earnest in her determination to put down the slave-trade. With regard to the second proposition, that our attempt to suppress the trade had aggravated its horrors, and therefore we ought to give up those attempts, he thought the arguments in support of that proposition had utterly failed. He could show that this had been made a matter taken for granted, and the interests of millions of our fellow-creatures had been dismissed without a thought. The Commons' committee had had before them a person who had acknowledged himself to have been a slave-trader—that is, a robber, a pirate, and a felon—and this person (Dr. Cliffe) the committee had consulted about the best means of putting down the slave-trade. The evidence of Captain Matson, who was a gallant and honourable person, was entitled to great weight; but the idea of calling upon a slave-trader, and asking him what was the best mode of suppressing the slave-trade, in which he had been engaged, appeared to him to be one of the most preposterous proceedings he had ever heard of. It was like consulting a wolf as to the best mode of preserving the sheep. To remove our squadron, and to let things take their course, would be to place them in the same situation as in 1788. He went on to say that it was absolutely necessary to maintain the squadron on the coast of Africa, both for the protection of trade and as an assurance to the well-disposed that in England they had a steadfast friend and ally; and he trusted the people of this country would not forego the advantages that were derived from it.

On the address being put from the woolsack,

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said, that both that house and the public must feel thankful to his noble and learned friend for having attracted attention to this important subject. It was not from any disrespect to his noble and learned friend that on this occasion he should most reluctantly take the course of moving the previous question. He trusted the time would never come when any countenance would be given, directly or indirectly, to the opinion that we had the intention, or he would say, morally or religiously speaking, the right to abandon our endeavours to put an end

to that trade which was the curse of the world, as it had been a stigma on our own national character. The noble marquis concluded by moving the previous question.

Lord BROUGHAM said that their lordships would have to decide upon a theory which involved a flimsy, trumpery, and most ignorant application of the principles of free trade—principles which had no more to do with a question of the offences and crimes of robbery, and murder, and piracy, than they had to do with any other question of which the human mind could form a conception. His noble and learned friend had completely refuted the two propositions that the slave-trade had increased in spite of our endeavours, and that our efforts had aggravated instead of alleviating the evil.

After a few words from Lord DENMAN in reply, the previous question was carried.

UNITED STATES.—JOHN C. CALHOUN VERSUS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

John C. Calhoun, who, however unpopular in person, is at this moment, to a greater degree than all other public men beside, the dictator of public opinion throughout the land, on a proposition to prevent the exclusion of slavery from Oregon, boldly utters these monstrous opinions in the Senate Chamber, on the 27th of the last month:—

"Mr. President, if this Union is to share the fate of so many Governments that have gone before us; if it is doomed to fall, the historian who records the event, WILL DEVOTE HIS FIRST CHAPTER TO THE ORDINANCE OF 1787. That will be set down as the origin of the deed of separation. His next chapter will be devoted to the Missouri Compromise, and the next to the Proviso of the present time. Whether there will be a chapter beyond this, we cannot tell. If the historian be of a philosophic turn of mind, looking into remote and recondite causes, he will trace the disaster to a proposition which, as now understood, is a most dangerous and fatal error, but which was originally a truism. THIS FATAL ERROR IS THE UNIVERSAL IDEA THAT ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL."

"Instead, therefore, of all men being created equal, or all men equally free, there is of necessity the greatest disparity. What then becomes of the error that all men are created equal? IT VANISHES! Yet to this error we may trace every struggle against Government for individual rights, however just, or however fallacious. This error is the very origin of abolitionism, and its dangerous offspring. It is this error which threatens to give to the revolutions, which it has excited in Europe, a tendency to anarchy and all its confusion. This error of equality is all powerful to put down, but impotent to build up. It can destroy fast enough, but it cannot reproduce. *It is an error under which, unless detected and discarded, all Europe and all Christendom may fall into hopeless anarchy, as the first result, to be terminated in military despotism.*

"Now, Sir, I propose to examine this, and I am not afraid to meet the strong prejudices in its favour. There is not a word of truth in the proposition as commonly understood. All men are born. No, Sir, men are not born; infants are born, and they grow up to be men. They are born free and equal. Not so. They are born subject to their parents and guardians, and so they continue till they grow up to be free. May I ask, is not this the language of the declaration of independence? No such thing; that declaration, in mere simple terms, says all men are created equal; but this is equally erroneous. According to the Scriptures, only two of the human race were created—one man and one woman."

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—VIRGINIA.—The following heartless piece of cold-blooded villany would exceed all belief, if its authenticity were not put beyond doubt or suspicion. How can the Free States look upon such daring outrages upon the laws of humanity and religion?

The following is a report of the trial and conviction of Martha Christian, at the August term of the Common Pleas, for 1847, in Wood county, Virginia, on a charge of teaching a slave to read the Bible! The indictment, which runs thus, we commend to the careful consideration of all who claim to be humane and Christian citizens:—

"Wood County, to wit.—The grand jurors empanelled and sworn to inquire of offences committed in the body of said county, on their oath present, That Martha Christian, late of said county, being an evil-disposed person, on the fourth day of July, in the year of our blessed Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, at Righteous Ridge, in said county, not having the fear of God before her eyes, but moved and instigated by the devil, wickedly, maliciously, and feloniously, did teach a certain black and negro woman, named Rebecca, alias Black Beck, to read in the Bible, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, to the pernicious example of others in like case offending, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth of Virginia."

Unnatural and inhuman as it may seem, the defendant in the case was found guilty, and on the next morning was brought into court for sentence. Judge Shacklear dwelt on the great favour extended towards her on her trial, the enormity of the offence, and the necessity of faithfully administering the law; and she was sentenced to ten years' confinement in the Penitentiary, and to pay the costs. The defendant's counsel immediately appealed from the cruel sentence, and the parties are now waiting a decision in a higher court.—*Boston Chronotype.*

MASSACHUSETTS.—CONVENTION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS—MOVEMENT RESPECTING SLAVERY.—At the late meeting of this Convention in Boston, which embraces the Unitarian and Orthodox ministers of that State, the following preamble and resolutions were introduced by Rev. Dr. Lowell, of Boston. Almost every member of the Convention seemed to be decidedly in favour of such an earnest Christian expression of sentiment as the resolution proposes. "Whereas this Convention is deeply impressed with the sinfulness and injustice of holding a fellow-being in slavery, and is convinced by all experience that the relation of master and slave is as destructive of the moral nature of the one, as it is of the human nature of the other; and whereas recent events have demonstrated, that the non-slaveholding States are inextricably involved in some of the great public and private wrongs inherent in the system; and whereas, while it is at all times incumbent upon us, as men, to be faithful to the duties of a common humanity, as ministers of Him who came to unloose the heavy burthens, and bind up the broken in heart, it is especially our duty to 'remember those who are in bonds as bound with them,'—therefore resolved, that a committee of nine be appointed to prepare a Report, to be presented at the next annual meeting of this Convention, containing a brief history of the rise and progress of slavery in our country, a view of the responsibility of the Free States in regard to it, and a calm and temperate, but solemn and earnest appeal to the community on this momentous subject."

MAINE.—The Franklin Conference, at its tenth annual meeting in Farmington, Maine, June 20th, 1848, passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That as a Conference we feel constrained, by our regard for the word of God, and for the honour of his name, and the interest of his kingdom—by our promise to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world, and to promote the purity, peace, and edification of Christ's church—to withhold from all professing Christians, who hold slaves, or openly justify or defend the practice of slaveholding, all those forms or expressions of fellowship which imply that we regard them as worthy members of Christ's visible body."—*American Missionary.*

KENTUCKY.—The Slave States are moving. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, have spoken in words that burn. Kentucky has again raised her voice. The following resolutions were adopted unanimously at a meeting of the friends of humanity recently held in Lewis county:—

1. Resolved,—As slavery is the question of the age—an institution affecting the interests of almost every individual, and is intimately connected with the national affairs of this Government, necessarily affecting its ultimate peace and safety—we therefore deem it the duty of every individual of the nation, and especially of our state and national representatives, to meet and investigate the subject with great candour and faithfulness.

2. Resolved,—That we greatly admire and highly commend the bold, faithful, and yet respectful manner in which John P. Hale, in the Senate of the United States, has discussed the question of slavery in its relations to the national Government, and the policy of the nation in regard to its extension.

3. Resolved,—That we highly esteem the late speech of Mr. Hale, (in which he shows that slavery and its extension was the true and grand moving cause of our war with Mexico,) as a speech replete with valuable truths—facts important to the American people—and here express our wish that the friends of freedom and peace will put that speech in pamphlet form, and send it to every neighbourhood, if not every family in the nation.

4. Resolved,—That we regard John P. Hale as intellectually and morally fitted for the highest office of the people of this nation; and that his untiring advocacy of liberty, righteousness, and peace, are qualifications for the Presidency infinitely greater than all the military qualifications that can be heaped upon man—the false honours gathered from the bloody field of battle.

SLAVE LAWS.—By virtue of an order from Washington County Orphan's Court, to me directed, I will expose to public sale, in front of the court house, in Hagerstown, on Tuesday, the 23rd of May next, for cash, a negro man, who calls himself George Bayley, about fifty years of age, who is to be sold for refusing to pay a fine imposed for coming into the State of Maryland contrary to an act of Assembly, passed at December session, 1839, chap 320.

May 13.

THOS. MARTIN.

What a monstrous outrage is this! Here is another.

A free negro, named Matthias Jones, who was committed to jail a few

days since by the recorder, and whipped by order of the County Court, and requested to leave the State in three days, was committed again yesterday, having failed to leave as requested. He will again have to submit his back to the lash.—*St. Louis New Era*.

THE SLAVE-TRADE OF THE STATES.—An occurrence took place in the United States' Circuit Court, while in session at Newport last week, which, as one of the signs of the times, must be highly gratifying to every sincere hater of that abominable traffic in human beings, so unblushingly carried on in the Southern States of this boasting Republic. It is an occurrence which must have an influence on the public mind, and we take pleasure in placing it on record.

Judge Woodbury, in his charge to the grand jury, took occasion to be very severe upon the African slave-trade; he said, "our laws justly condemned it as a piracy;" and he seemed particularly anxious to impress the jurors with a high opinion of his ideas of liberty by dwelling upon one of our national sins of a past period.

After the grand jury had gone through with the business which the district attorney laid before them, the foreman (Lauriston Hall, Esq.) made some remarks complimentary to the charge of the judge, and observed that there was a slave-trade now carried on in our own country, which some people disapproved of, though it had not elicited from the Court any expressions of virtuous indignation. He proposed to draw up something in the way of a Presentment, if it suited the minds of the jurors, which was done substantially as follows:—

"The grand jurors of the United States, in and for the district of Rhode Island, regard the slave-trade carried on between a large portion of the States of our Union—also in the capital and under the flag of our country—abhorrent alike to the principles of democracy and the dictates of humanity: more cruel in its nature than that carried on among the more ignorant and degraded on the coast of Africa, inasmuch as the slaves among us are more intelligent and enlightened. We therefore present the domestic slave-trade, in all its features, as an evil that overshadows the whole land, which it is our imperative duty to decry. Every influence of our minds and characters, to abate and abolish it, shall be persevered in."

There were twenty jurors present, and it was signed by sixteen, and handed into the Court. We honour those sixteen jurors; they are worthy of Rhode Island.—*Woonsocket Patriot*.

SLAVERY IN OREGON.—By the last advices we learn that the Senate of the United States has been occupied in a warm debate on the question of the extension or prohibition of slavery in the new territory of Oregon. The position of affairs is thus defined in an article in the *National Era*, under the caption of "The Question States":—

"No Bill for the establishment of a territorial government in Oregon, without some anti-slavery safeguard attached to it, can pass the House of Representatives. No such Bill, with the Wilmot Proviso (prohibiting slavery) appended to it, can pass the Senate. Unless, then, both Houses can agree on a Bill in some way securing the territory to freedom, without embracing the form of the Proviso, the people of Oregon can have no government, except they set up one for themselves.

"The Bill now before the Senate is precisely such a one as we have just described. Its 12th section, in accordance with an unbroken series of precedents, recognises the existing laws of Oregon. One of these laws excludes slavery; so that the Bill recognises the right of the people of Oregon to exclude slavery by legislative action. But this is precisely the doctrine of General Cass, in which he is fully sustained by the democracy of the country rallied under his flag.

"This Bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Territories. Mr. Hale has withdrawn his amendment providing that the anti-slavery clause of the ordinance of 1787 shall be incorporated in it. No objection is made to the recognition of any of the existing laws of Oregon but one, and that is the one excluding slavery. A slave-holding senator has moved to strike out the entire section containing this recognition, which, if successful, may prevent Oregon from having any legislative government at all."

* * We have received by the packet steamer, which arrived on the 30th ult., the following intelligence of the latest proceedings of Congress:— "Congress adjourned on the 15th instant. Among the last acts of legislation, and one which has received the President's signature, was a bill providing for the government of Oregon. The peculiar circumstance which gives interest to this bill is that it embodies, in respect to that territory, the provision of the famous ordinance of 1787—which forbids slavery for ever in the territories north-west of the Ohio—and the wise foresight of which prohibition has been proved by the growing up already in that territory of six great and prosperous states within which slavery can find no foothold. There was a strenuous contest in the Senate especially to exclude this provision, but it was found, after two or three successive trials, that on each occasion the House of Representatives became more and more determined to let Oregon remain without a Government, rather than consent to any compromise adverse to freedom; and finally the Senate yielded, and the bill was passed and is now a law, with the clause prohibiting slavery within the borders of Oregon. The other new territories acquired by the treaty of peace with Mexico remain unprovided

with any government, and are in a sufficiently anomalous position, for they are American by treaty, and no longer subject to laws which attached to them when belonging to another country—and yet not provided with any new form of government by their new country. Slavery is here again the stumbling-block—for portions of both these territories lying within parallels of latitude where slave labour may be with most advantage employed, the senators and representatives from the slave-holding states would not consent to any bill that looked to the exclusion of slavery from these countries. On the other hand, the representatives from the non-slave-holding states would not sanction any bill that might lead to the introduction of slaves and slavery into regions now free. The difference is irreconcilable, and the territories are left without any settled form of government. The President, in returning this bill to Congress with his signature, accompanied it with a message, in which he declares that he signed the bill because Oregon lies north of the line of the Missouri Compromise, but would not do the same for any bill, excluding slavery, having relation to the government of the territory of California, or the newly acquired provinces in Mexico, because he evidently thinks the slave limits little enough, and that the Missouri Compromise having been adopted and made a rule of action, it is unwise and unjust to the south to seek to impose conditions excluding slavery upon territory south of that line. In conclusion he quotes from the farewell address of Washington a portion which deprecates sectional influences and the admission of any feeling tending to weaken the Union."

HAITI.—We are happy to be able, in the face of the highly exaggerated reports which have been current, to present to our readers the following correspondence from the *North Star*, an American paper, which is under the able editorship of Frederick Douglass:—"I have just seen a Philadelphia paper, containing an article purporting to be 'further intelligence from Haiti,' and which, from beginning to end, is one entire tissue of misrepresentations. The piece I allude to gives an account of the murder of eighty persons in cold blood, by order of the Government, and the subsequent massacre or imprisonment of all the coloured inhabitants of Port-au-Prince. To myself, who am present at the scene of action, this intelligence, I assure you, is fully as novel as it is to others. I shall merely confine myself to giving a simple summary of events, as they lie within my own knowledge. About one o'clock in the afternoon, a proclamation was made about the city to the effect that the South was in a state of revolt. Two hours after, the three usual discharges of cannon announced that the Republic was in danger, and immediately thereon, the beating of the drum called upon all good citizens to arm themselves in defence of the Government. Quite a stir, of course, took place about the city, which was, perhaps, increased by the intelligence of the arrest of a general at the Government House. This had been attended with some violence, during which a pistol-shot was fired; and this giving rise to a report that the President had been assassinated, the guards commenced immediately to shoot indiscriminately among the persons there assembled. Two persons, I believe, were killed, and some others wounded. Shortly after, the Government proclaimed itself satisfied with the conduct of the citizens, and, as there was no immediate necessity for their services, they were permitted to retire to their homes. A detachment of the guards then came down, whereupon a skirmish ensued, in which the guards were successful. In this affair, seven or eight of the citizens fell, and some few on the part of the soldiery. Some arrests were also made, and a few military executions followed next morning. For two or three days after, business was suspended; and during this time, one or two cases of violence occurred on some plantations near the city. On the 20th, however, a general amnesty was proclaimed in regard to all, with the exception of twelve persons, whom the Government regarded as prominent in disaffection towards itself. Since then, everything has been quiet here; and tranquillity has also been restored at the South, whither the President marched a week or so after. In conclusion, I proceed to give you a translation of the last official announcement of the state of the country. It is as follows:—

"REPUBLIC OF HAITI.

"PROCLAMATION.

"*Faustin Soulouque, President of Haiti, to the People and Army:—*

"Haitians!—In the midst of a profound peace—at the moment when the Government, in its solicitude, was labouring to give a new energy to the country, by encouraging industry and commerce, and by extending its agricultural resources—a perverse minority was plotting to overthrow our institutions, and decimate our families. The country would have expired in this fratricidal struggle, if the Providence which watches over the destinies of Haiti had not ordered otherwise!

"The ingrates! How little they know their country! The traitors! Doubtless they were ignorant that the people are, to-day, fully alive to their true interests. That people, whom they fancied their dupes, was watching, in silence, their secret movement—was reading their every thought. And when the mask was thrown aside, the people, by a spontaneous movement, arose and tendered its aid to the Government of its choice. Let us cast a veil over the event which followed.

"Haitians! A new era arises for the Republic. The country, freed

from the various obstacles and heterogeneous elements which hindered its onward march, is now entering upon a prosperous career.

"The majority of the traitors have passed to foreign lands. They have fled from the chastisement which they have so justly merited.—But, in flying from the danger which they have themselves provoked, let them never think of placing their foot again upon the soil of Haiti. Unnatural children! let them never return to rend again the bosom of their mother country. That country reproves—that country disinherits them.

"Citizens of Aux Cayes! I am about leaving your city to visit the rest of the department of the south. My stay here has restored tranquillity to your community; and I am happy to say, this tranquillity and security reign in every part of the republic.

"Civil and military functionaries of the arrondissement of Aux Cayes! Be faithful to yourselves. I have taken all the measures dictated by prudence to re-establish order, and to maintain the respect due to persons and to property. Entrusted with my confidence, render yourselves worthy of it by fulfilling scrupulously my obligations. You are responsible for the slightest attempt directed against the established order of things.

"Haitians! Be calm and confiding in the chief who is the vanguard of the country. Citizens and soldiers! Be always united; and let the bond of national brotherhood be for ever indissoluble. By that union, we shall attain the destiny marked out for us by the finger of Providence.

"Soldiers! I am satisfied with your position. Persevere therein, and you will deserve well of your country.

"Long live liberty! Long live equality! Long live the constitution!

"Done at the National Palace, Aux Cayes, this 27th day of June, 1848, in the 45th year of independence.

"SOULOUQUE."

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—ARRIVAL OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—The barque *Clarendon*, from Sierra Leone, with 265 African immigrants, arrived off Port Morant, on the 6th instant. We are indebted to Lieutenant Griffith, R. N., for the following intelligence respecting the *Clarendon's* voyage. The vessel sailed from the Downs on the 7th May, anchored at Sierra Leone on the 3rd June, and sailed again on the 8th June, with 265 immigrants. Lieutenant Griffith was the Government agent in the barque *Morayshire*, which vessel landed a lot of 154 Africans at Port Maria, in February last. Seven of the immigrants by the *Clarendon* died on the passage, but Lieutenant Griffith reports the rest to be in good health, and to compose a much better lot than those imported in the *Morayshire*. The *Belle Macquiline*, brig slaver, prize of Her Majesty's brig *Grecian*, captured off Batria with 513 slaves on board, arrived at Sierra Leone on the 5th June.

We have not heard where the immigrants are to be placed. Indeed it seems difficult to imagine how they are at present to be disposed of. There are very few just now who can afford to pay the amount fixed for the import cost, and unless Parliament resolves on some immediate relief, the sooner the importation ceases the better.—*Falmouth Post*, July 14.

TRINIDAD.—AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.—*Legislative Council*, July 8.—Lord Harris—I am desirous that the Board should meet early this month, as there are some alterations recommended by Earl Grey in the Immigration and Territorial Ordinance, which will have to be taken into consideration. It will also be necessary to moot the manner in which immigration is to be carried on.

Mr. Fuller—I think that immigration should cease. In fact, it must be so; we have no money to pay for it.

Lord Harris—The expense the colony will be at will be only for the landing. I feel that it would be necessary for the benefit of the immigrant himself, the planter and the community, to have some regulations respecting immigrants. It has been proved, with respect to the Coolies, that hundreds have died from not having been put under proper restraint. The distribution of the immigrants should be paid for by the parties receiving them—say, from five to ten shillings a head.

Mr. Scott—Some time ago an Ordinance was passed, by which the Governor was their protector. The first thing which Sir Henry Macleod learnt on going home was, that it had been disallowed.

Lord Harris—I have the power under an Order in Council to indent Africans under eighteen years of age. There should be regular Government inspectors to report as to their pay, clothing, food, &c.

Mr. Fuller—I received a letter from Mr. Carter, stating that many of the new Africans had been seduced by the old settlers at Bande de l'Est. Perhaps your Excellency would direct an inquiry to be had.

Lord Harris—In the meantime, I hope the members will devote some consideration to the question.

It appears, says the *Trinidadian* of July the 12th, by a statement made by Lord Harris, that the home Government have consented to bear the expense of African immigration to these shores. This smacks of gener-

sity and maternal kindness, but we doubt much whether it be either benevolent or politically wise. If Britain must expend money on such a project, it is somewhat consolatory to know that the Ethiopian will not be much more barbarized, or have his wretchedness greatly augmented, by being transported from his native Africa to the shores of Trinidad. Here he will enjoy nominal freedom, with plenty of work and little pay. Trinidad might be made a comfortable asylum for the destitute and injured; but nothing has been done, or is being done, to benefit the thousands that private cupidity, at the public cost, has brought hither. Coolie immigration alone has cost the colony £70,000. Has the colony profited? Have the Coolies, those who are yet alive, bettered their situation? Wrong already done cannot be remedied; but the Government should not persevere in their past course of wrong doing. If their eyes are not yet open to the iniquity of their previous policy, we fear they are the victims of incurable blindness. Although their sight may have utterly failed, perhaps the sense of feeling remains comparatively unimpaired. If so, they can feel any day that the public purse is empty, and that by their own deliberate but demented acts. The subject of immigration is to come before the Council at its next meeting, and we do trust will be handled in a manner worthy of upright and enlightened men.

MAURITIUS.—By advices to the 14th of June we learn the following particulars. Respecting the crop the accounts are rather favourable. Business affairs continued depressed in consequence of the blow credit had encountered from the late failures. "The season," it is remarked, "has continued propitious, and the plantations have profited in every part of the island." At Grand Baie, the locality which had most suffered from dry weather, the estates were not quite so forward; the canes, however, promised well. Accounts from other places reported a good crop, especially at Savanne. While attention has been directed to the plantations, a supply of provisions has not been neglected, the cultivation of maize, manioc, &c. having been greatly extended. With the new immigrants, amounting to 573, who had lately landed, engagements were effected at the rate of four rupees per month, and at the time they were engaged, a demand existed for more than 1,000, from the planters present. As the sugar crop was drawing to a close, the usual estimate had been prepared of the production of each district, compared with the two previous years, and which shows the annexed results.

	Crop 1845-46.	Crop 1846-47.	Crop 1847-48.
			(Estimated.)
North Pampeluna..	18,000,000	21,600,000	19,000,000
South	8,000,000	11,000,000	9,000,000
Riv. du Rempart...	24,000,000	32,200,000	23,000,000
Flacq.	20,000,000	25,000,000	29,000,000
Grand Port.....	14,000,000	17,500,000	15,000,000
Savanne	10,000,000	13,800,000	13,000,000
Plaines Wilhelms..	6,000,000	9,400,000	9,000,000
Black River	1,800,000	2,600,000	3,000,000
Moka	550,000	300,000	400,000
	102,350,000	133,400,000	120,400,000

The murrain among the cattle had not yet entirely ceased. Although the Government Bank had not been brought into active operation, little doubt remained about its being finally established, as the shareholders of the Commercial Bank had convened another meeting, at which it was presumed they would renounce their privilege of issuing paper.

MARTINIQUE.—It is painful and deplorable to witness the harm done in our unhappy country by keeping up distrust, and by inferring imaginable troubles as to the future. It may be a salutary fear which should lead to useful measures.

Wherefore this fatal disposition to blacken and exaggerate everything? It is true that the social revolution which is in course of operation in the colonies, the inevitable consequence of that which has been effected in the mother country, presents great difficulties and fearful embarrassments; but who could have expected to find a calm in so fearful a tempest? Who could have persuaded himself that general confidence, prosperity of trade, perfect organization of labour, all those things in short which are but the result of a great and complete harmony, would have been suddenly re-established on the morrow of the day on which society was shaken to its very foundation?

Order, then, we are convinced, will return; and we would have the conviction carried to the minds of all our readers, that order will return, and with it the equilibrium of all interests. The colony is tranquil in all directions; many of the labourers have resumed the work of agriculture, and those who yet hesitate are only kept back by indecision as to the kind of arrangement they should make with the proprietors. Well then, in the name of heaven, let us be reasonable and have patience!—*Courrier de la Martinique*.

PORTO RICO.—In our last we gave the proclamation of the infamous Conde de Reus, prepared in view of the aspect of the times, by which he attempted, through the rigidity of its proposed inflictions, to deter the

negro race from making an effort to obtain their liberty. We now give a subsequent effusion addressed to the people.

"*Inhabitants of Porto Rico!*—By the arrival of the French schooner *Argus*, from Martinique, this day, I have received intelligence of the grave occurrences which have taken place in Martinique and Guadeloupe, in consequence of the late decrees of the Provisional Government of France, respecting the emancipation of the slaves in her colonies.

"The unfortunate emigrants who have arrived by the aforesaid schooner, after abandoning their families and interests, come to this island to seek that safety and protection which they could not find in their own country, afford the most evident proof of the lamentable state in which those colonies are plunged, and of the *ferocious stupidity of the African race*, who, *neither conscious nor capable of conceiving* the clemency which their Government had conceded to them, show their gratitude by surrendering themselves to those propensities which in them are *innate*—incendiarism—assassination—destructiveness.

"Happily this island, in every point of view, is in a very different position, but, as the news brought by the above-named vessel will spread through this capital, and will rapidly go through the whole island, with all the additions and exaggerations usual in similar cases, it becomes my duty to dispel all fears which such accounts may create in your minds, and to assure you that your Captain-General watches constantly for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the territory which our most gracious Queen (may Heaven guard her!) has been pleased to confide to me, as well as for the safety of your persons as for your interests.

"With this view, and in case that sparks of the conflagration which consumes the French islands should be thrown, and be propagated in the Danish islands of St. Croix and St. Thomas, I have this day despatched one of my aides-de-camps, to offer in my name, to the Governor-General of those islands, efficient aid by armed forces, which he may require, in case of so direful an event, in order to *exterminate* the ill-disposed who might meditate the ruin of those settlements.

"*Inhabitants of Porto Rico!*—be tranquil—confide in the bravery of Spanish soldiers, and in the bravery of your Captain-General.

(Signed) "CONDE DE REUS.

"Porto Rico, 31st May, 1848."

We are happy to find that the public press generally in our colonies have held up this inhuman monster to his merited opprobrium. We select the observations of one journal, the *St. Christopher Advertiser*, which was the first to communicate the intelligence.

"We are at a loss for terms sufficiently strong to convey our indignation and disgust, consistently with decency and propriety, at such a display of satanic malignity. The Spanish Government appear to be peculiarly happy in their choice of colonial governors. Governor O'Donnell's pranks in Cuba were sufficiently reprehensible, but the Count de Reus out-herods Herod. And what will our readers suppose is the alleged cause of this extraordinary step? Why, nothing more nor less than because the Governor wishes 'to prevent such misfortunes as are now desolating our neighbours in a high degree from introducing themselves into our peaceable and loyal island;' for that purpose he proceeds to establish what he is pleased to term 'laws to punish those crimes which may be committed among us.' The man does not even, according to his own words, anticipate the manifestation of an insurgent movement on the part of 'the African race,' for in one clause of his proclamation he says—That if any slave (*which is not expected*) should rebel, &c. If this mode of government be sanctioned by his Royal Mistress and her responsible advisers, we should say they sadly misapprehend the present state of opinion throughout the world upon the subject of slavery. It is rather late in the day for us to propound our views on this subject; they are, we apprehend, well and widely known. We hold that 'all men are born free and equal,' and that it is contrary to the designs of Providence for one man to hold in bondage the person of another, and to transfer, as property, the repository of an immortal soul. Entertaining such views it will be readily conceived what was the amount of indignation we experienced upon receiving the inflammatory documents to which we this day give publication.

"We derive some consolation, however, from the very nature of these fulminations; for if anything at all is calculated to rouse the most apathetic natures, these documents must have some effect. Our African brethren are, under any circumstances, MEN: they are endowed, at least, with human feelings and propensities; and who can blame them, if they manfully resist every endeavour to treat them as dogs. We would not be understood as counselling insurrection. There are many ways of obtaining redress of grievances without resorting to anarchy and bloodshed. We trust that the friends of the African race, or rather the friends

of humanity, in Porto Rico, will endeavour to obtain the recall of this sanguinary despot, or ere long the world may behold enacted in that island the deplorable scenes which disgrace the annals of St. Domingo."

ST. CROIX.—We collect the following information from our colonial files, on the subject of the total emancipation of the slaves in this colony.

"The return steamer from St. Thomas, which was due here (St. Lucia) on Saturday night, only appeared on Monday morning. The intelligence derived from the officers of this vessel is of the most painful description. Anarchy and revolt seem to be spreading throughout the whole chain of colonies and under every flag. The delay of this steamer is accounted for, by the fact of her services having been required to transport troops from the Spanish Island of Porto Rico for the relief of the Danish Governor of St. Croix. It is stated that a numerous body of the slaves of the island of St. Croix presented themselves at the residence of the Governor, and demanded their immediate liberation from all further restraint, in like manner with those in the French colonies, whose movements had become known to them. It is further stated, that the Danish Governor, who is totally unsupported with any military force, except the island militia, found it necessary to *temporize* with the excited people, and he announced that the measure of total emancipation should be *immediately* carried out, instead of adhering to the provisions of the King of Denmark's laws, at present in force, for the more gradual emancipation of the slaves. This arrangement appeared to satisfy, but having obtained some information of the real intentions of the Government, they subsequently, on the day fixed by the Governor for issuing a proclamation declaring their unconditional emancipation, placed themselves in open revolt. In this emergency the Governor of St. Croix had recourse to his neighbour in Porto Rico, and, in accordance with the proffered assistance which the Spanish Governor had previously tendered, in a proclamation issued by him, in reference to the revolutionary movement operating in other colonies, the steamer was engaged to transport a body of Spanish troops to the assistance of the Danes, for the preservation of their lives and properties. It is reported that the result of this timely assistance has been the repression of the insurrectionary movement, but not without a great loss of life. Further accounts from these quarters will, of course, be looked for with intense anxiety. We subjoin the proclamation of the Governor.

PROCLAMATION.—By order of His Majesty the King of Denmark, Vendas and the Gothas, Duke of Sleswig Holstein, &c. &c., His Excellency Major-General Chamberlaine, &c., &c., Governor-General of the Danish West India Islands, Peter Carl Frederick Von Scholten maketh known:—

1. All unfree in the Danish West India Islands are from to-day emancipated.
2. The estate negroes retain, for three months from date, the use of the houses and provision-grounds of which they have hitherto been possessed.
3. Labour is in future to be paid for by agreement, but allowance is to cease; and the maintenance of old and infirm, who are not able to work, is, until further determination, to be furnished by the owners.

Given under my hand and the Government seal, this third of July, 1848.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
London.—Evans, William, M.P.	30 0 0	
Buxton, Sir E. N., Bart., M.P.	25 0 0	
Stoke Newington.—Alexander, William C.		0 2 6
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